
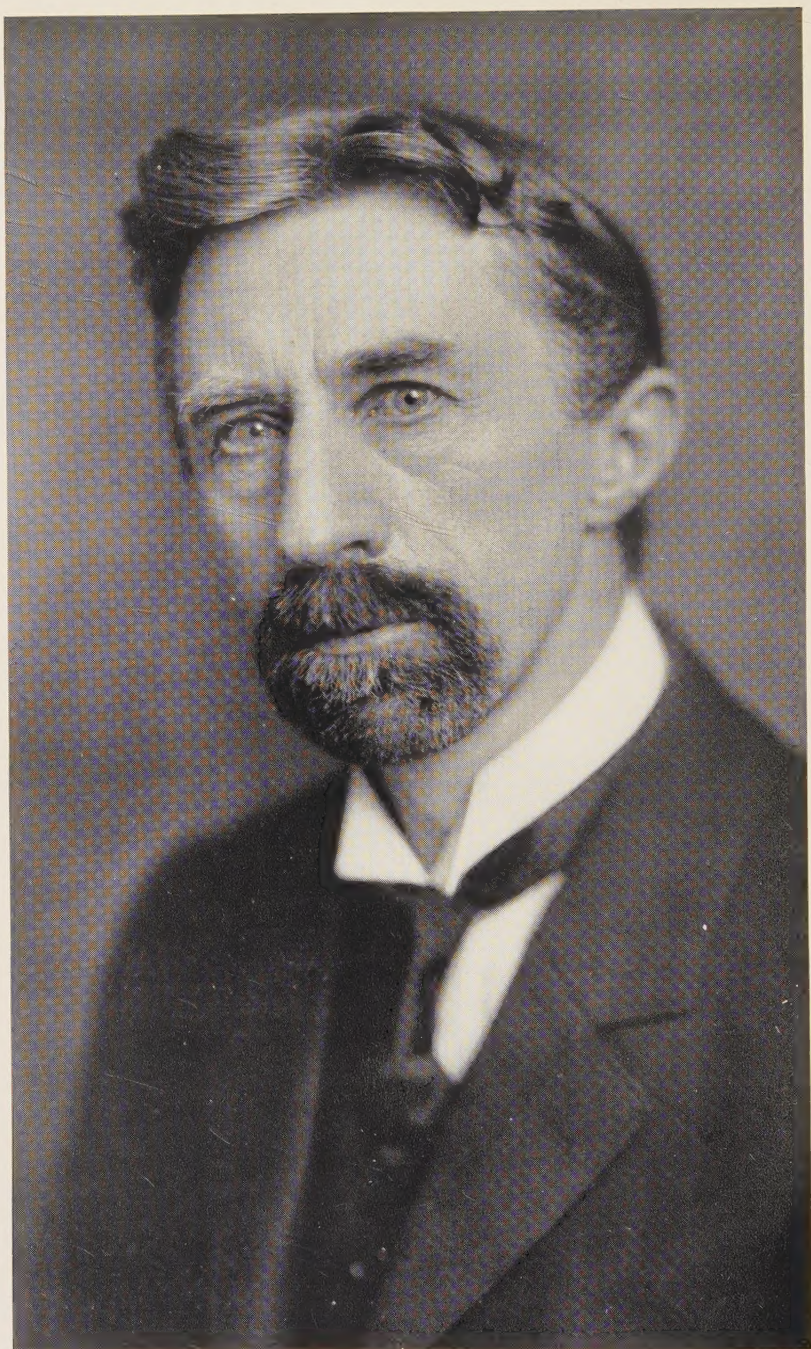


STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY



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FREDERICK KLAEBER

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

A MISCELLANY IN HONOR OF
FREDERICK KLAEBER

EDITED BY
KEMP MALONE
Johns Hopkins University
AND
MARTIN B. RUUD
University of Minnesota



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TO
FREDERICK KLAEBER
ON HIS
SIXTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY
WHICH MARKS ALSO THE COMPLETION OF
THIRTY-FIVE YEARS OF SERVICE
IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

FOREWORD

Thirty-five years ago Professor Frederick Klaeber, at the invitation of Dr. George Edwin MacLean, then head of the Department of English, took up his work at the University of Minnesota. The institution to which he came, fresh from his doctorate at Berlin, was small and all but unknown, certainly unknown beyond the limits of the Northwest. Professor Klaeber himself had never heard of it, and when he turned to his *Konversationslexikon* he came away little wiser. There was something there about Minnesota, less about Minneapolis, of the University nothing beyond the briefest mention.

Since then the University of Minnesota has flourished in all material ways; and as he gazes upon the old campus, now so utterly changed, Professor Klaeber must frequently rub his eyes. Perhaps he has not always approved, though he is too wise and too catholic to condemn unthinkingly, and those who know him are aware how sensitive he is, for all his seeming detachment, to the multifarious American world about him and its needs. At all events, he has never allowed the bewildering complexity of a state university to trouble him, still less to distract him from that work to which a generation ago he set his hand. He might doubt, indeed, the value of this or that new discipline that forced its way into the curriculum and even threatened to crowd out the ancient liberal arts; but he could never dogmatize about it. The only thing he could be sure of was that he found in his own studies that intense satisfaction which is the last reward of the scholar.

To generation after generation of Minnesota men and women Professor Klaeber has exemplified the genius of scholarship—devotion, patience, accuracy, and, more than all else, that light of the imagination by which all the disparate materials that it assembles are given life and meaning. No doubt many

FOREWORD

have passed by not understanding, though not many, we think, without respect, but those who have come under his influence have learned what scholarship means. If the University of Minnesota has contributed something to philological learning, it is not least because he showed her students the way. And even more is it true that if the University counts for something in the world of her peers, it is in no small measure because Frederick Klaeber lived and worked in her halls.

The University gratefully acknowledges her debt, and she has wished through the publication of this volume to do him honor on his anniversary. That the feelings of the University of Minnesota toward her distinguished teacher are shared by scholars everywhere, the number and variety of the articles here printed are evidence. They may serve to remind us of the words of the *Hávamól*—words, we think, no less appropriate to Professor Klaeber than to that other great scholar, Ivar Aasen, on whose *bauta* they have been carved:

Deyr fé,
deyja frændr,
deyr sjalfr et sama.
En orþstírr deyr aldrege
hveims sér góðan getr.

KEMP MALONE
MARTIN B. RUUD

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FOUR FOOTNOTES

To Papers on Germanic Metrics



WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD, *University of Wisconsin*

I

My notions on Germanic metrics have been set down in three monographs: *Beowulf and the Nibelungen Couplet*; the *Scansion of Middle English Alliterative Verse*; and *La Métrica del Cid*.¹ The first attempted to explain how a four-beat scansion of the Old Germanic half-line actually sounds in my ears, as metrically far more satisfying than the orthodox two stresses; and suggested objective reasons for the historic validity of that scansion, based upon Germanic linguistics and on the linguistic and metrical phenomena of later Germanic verse (from Otfried to modern nursery rhymes), as well as upon the intrinsic nature of all verse as a metrical organism, and of oral or chanted verse as inevitably emphasizing an organic metrical pattern. The second showed that there are essentially no linguistic or metrical differences between such so-called "seven-stress long-lines" of poems like *Gamelyn* and the so-called "four-stress long-lines" of *Piers Plowman*, etc., the proofs being mainly in my experimental manipulations of lines from either in a context of the other. The argument was to establish the metrical conformity of *Piers Plowman* verses to the *Gamelyn* type—a type identical with that of the *Nibelungenlied* and not in dispute—without reference to earlier Germanic verse (in AS, OS, ON, and OHG). Then, with the alliterative verse in ME established as a seven-stress

¹ "University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature," No. 2 (Madison, 1918), pp. 99-152; *ibid.*, No. 11 (1920), pp. 58-104; and *Revista de Archivos*, Madrid (to be published in installments during the current year).

long-line, there is practically established the four-stress character of the Old Germanic paired half-line, of which it is, by common consent, the traditional descendant. But my presentation was incomplete in several particulars, especially as to the relation of a seven-stress long-line in ME to an eight-stress in AS, though there was a word on this in the Introduction to my *Beowulf* translation.¹ The third was a far more exact analysis of verse of the *Gamelyn-Nibelungen* type (and, by implication, of the *Piers Plowman* type); and made clear, I think, the important distinction between eight metrical beats as all integrated with speech-material, and eight metrical beats integrated in part with speech-material and in part with rests (in my nomenclature, *rest-beats*). The norm of the ME and MHG type is, of course, six speech-beats, three in each half-line, with a rest-beat at the end of each half-line, as in my *Beowulf* translation,

Let us hasten yonder|_ to seek and see anew|_;

but with occasional substitution of rest-beats within the half-line, as again in my *Beowulf*, either in the first half (p. 30),

Remember|_ thy glory, make known thy might to all,

or in the second (p. 132),

Be the bier ready, ordered|_ anon;

or in both, as in my "Pied Piper,"²

With a fife|_ of steel to puckered|_ lips.

That is, verse of the *Gamelyn-Nibelungen* type (as in my *Beowulf*) is metrically still an eight-beat line, varying in speech-beats from four to eight (though four speech-beats in the second half is commonest only in the *Nibelungen*). I regret that the policy of the *Revista* makes it impossible for me to republish this paper in English, for it deals with matters fundamentally

¹ New York: Century Co., 1923.

² *The Lynching Bee and Other Poems*. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1920; reprinted in my collected verse, *A Son of Earth*, Viking Press, 1928.

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the same as those now beginning to be re-examined in our own discipline.¹ My objective, however, was to present, and primarily for the Hispanistas, the solution of an outstanding puzzle in Old Spanish: The meter of the *Cid* is, like the substance of the *Cid*, Germanic folk-art, an inheritance from Visigothic Old Castile, a rougher, more oral form of the versification employed by the fellow-juglar of twentieth-century Midwestern America in the above-cited translation of *Beowulf*.

But I have been grievously handicapped in being forced to have such exclusive recourse to the printed word, in trying to explain matters intrinsically of the ear, in an eye-minded age. My notions, product of both metrical experience and metrical analysis, seem to act persuasively upon those whose ears are within range; I have a few disciples among local colleagues and students, or visitors in Madison. But I cannot reach others by word of mouth, either in the annual sessions of the Modern Language Association or on troubadouring tours, because, for almost as long as I have been a university teacher, a neurotic disability has made all travel impossible. These papers have been an inadequate substitute, except in the case of those few scholars, in America or abroad, who have any particular aptitudes for metrics; they understand, even when they don't altogether agree—and that is all I would ask.

My other brethren, reiterating mechanically in their classrooms or in their text editions the orthodox reiterations of the textbooks and manuals, remark (I have been told), if they remark at all, that "Professor Leonard, being a poet, has a poet's privilege to disport himself as whimsically as he will . . . but the rest of us must tend to facts." It seems time to have a little talk on this. Literary criticism aside, the facts of metrical science (like some facts in phonetics) are generically unlike those of other departments of humanistic investigation. Other facts

¹ See, for example, G. R. Stewart, "The Metre of Piers Plowman," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* (March, 1927).

(bibliographical, textual, biographical, etc.) are simply there in impersonal objective existence, to be discovered by impersonal organs of industry and ingenuity. Interpretation there begins with the objectively given. But in metrics the facts are facts only in experience itself; one can't discuss a cadence without knowing it, and there is only one way to know it—which is to live it in consciousness. I am persuaded that many otherwise competent, even eminent scholars, simply lack the ability to experience rhythmically and musically—in other words, to collect—metrical facts at all. On the other hand, many minds intuitively sensitive to metrical facts can do nothing with them analytically. Thus metrics as a subject of investigation makes a double demand upon us; we must be something of the artist to collect the facts, and something of the scientist to analyze them. The moral is a little embarrassing all 'round.

II

Recent preoccupation with the analysis of the long-line in ME, MHG, OSp, and my own verse (itself composed with as little consciousness of metrical theory as that of the old fellows long ago) has latterly stimulated some supplementary insight into the versification of the AS, ON, etc., as I have been hearing it in my ears for fifteen years (ever since I gave up trying to make one meter out of the orthodox five types).

The rest (between beats) and the rest-beat (as substitute for a beat on a syllable), both so common in later verse of Germanic structure (the so-called "asyllabic accentual"), as in the opening couplet of the "Pied Piper,"

The húgel_ Píed_ Píper_ in a gíant_ dáce_
 Begán_ hìs_ píping_ on the fíelds_ òf_ Fránce_,

are both possibly organic phenomena in the very early AS, ON, etc. Nay, the first is indubitably there. It is metrically a downright misstatement to say that in AS verse two accents

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(beats) may come together; they come together as little as they do in

The huge|_ Pied|_ Piper;

there is the same rest between, e.g., even in the (orthodox) C type,

in gear|_ dagum.

The time is kept either by unstressed speech-material or by a rest, precisely as in my own verse. The employment of the second (the rest-beat, as distinguished both from the rest and from the speech-beat) certainly often renders possible a better integration of meter with normal pronunciation of words in OG, even granting a more energetic articulation of secondary syllables in those days. I seem not to have had the wits to note this in my first monograph. It is primarily a question of linguistics; the meter remains the same whether I chant

remémber|_ thy glóry|_

or

remém|_ bèr thy glór|_ ý;

so, too, in the choice between

sídra|_ sórga|_

and

síd|_ rà|_ sór|_ gà|_.

I have noted a decided tendency in my oral reading of AS to such a handling of speech-material (in opposition to Kaluza's scansion, with which, in general, I agree), where the secondary beat would otherwise come on a following prefix of the next word, as in the second half (A type) of

wrénceð hē ond blénc|_ èð|_ wórnc|_ geðénc|_ èð [*Character of Man*, 33],

and

feor|_ gewitan [*Beow.*, 42*b*];

and sometimes where it would otherwise come on a weak suffixal element of the preceding word (so much depends upon

the rhythmical context that no absolute linguistic or metrical rules can properly be formulated), as in

sæde ðæt his byrne abrocen_└ wære [*Finnsb. Fr.*, 44],

Said that now his byrnie was broken_└ through [my *Beowulf*, p. 139],

which, by the way, repeats the exact cadence of the original except for the masculine ending. In B types of restricted speech-material (to start always with the classification of Sievers, serviceable as far as it goes), a rest-beat seems normal in place of the otherwise third speech-beat. Contrast the fuller

se wæs betera ðonne ic [*Beow.*, 469b],

and

ðe ic on worulde gebad [*Maldon*, 174b],

with such linguistically more condensed forms as

he ðæs frofre_└ gebad [*Beow.*, 7b].

On the other hand, I would read with Kaluza

aledòn ða [*ibid.*, 34a];

for here a solemn and emphatic pronunciation is initiated by the initial secondary beat on *a-*, naturally to be echoed in the management of subsequent speech-material (*-on*) in the second dipody. In the C type there is no rest-beat, except possibly after (instead of a beat upon) the final syllable of the cadence, in accord with the similar alternative in the resolution of any Germanic cadence ending in a linguistically weak but possibly time-marking syllable. In D₄ I now read

secg weorce_└ gefeh [*ibid.*, 1569b],

rather than *weorcè*; and in E,

worldare_└ forgeaf [*ibid.*, 17b]

rather than *-arè*. Moreover, one can read D₄, E, and B (i.e., any type where the cadence ends with a relatively strong linguistic accent as time-marker), without a beat (the regular third beat) on or after the preceding weak syllable, but with a rest-beat at the end, as

secg weorce gefeh_└.

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I suspect that some scholars, notably Germans,¹ who thought they scanned OG with a variable four- and three-beat scansion, really failed to analyze their own oral and aural experience; I suspect they really filled out the lacking fourth speech-beat with a rest-beat.

To one whose metrical consciousness has found peace in the unalterable Sievers' diagrams, printed and numbered, these views will seem chaos and caprice. Alternative cadences? What then of science, metrical science? Is not the first principle of all science law and order? Well, the law of the meter remains, an eight-beat long-line; the variability is only in the management of the speech-material, already notably plastic to the versification, and in the management of the musical (as distinct from rhetorical) pauses. And again and again in public reading of my own verses, especially those that best reveal their cadences when chanted, have I noted in retrospect how I rendered them in alternative manner on different occasions, e.g., now,

Began his piping on the fields of France,

and now,

Began his piping on the fields of France.

Yet I was re-creating the same metrical organism.

There may, however, have been other deviations from the diagrams when the scop got warmed to his work. Though doubtless in rendering the linguistic force of his metrical beats he usually kept pretty close to the relations between primary and secondary as linguistically conditioned, he may well on occasion have done the same violence to linguistic stress as Germanic poets and reciters have certainly done ever since. Theoretically my diagram for *ofer hronrade* (C) is $\acute{x} \ x \ \acute{x} \ _ \ \acute{x} \ _ \ \acute{x}$ and for *fromum feohgiftum* (D) is $\acute{x} \ x \ \acute{x} \ _ \ \acute{x} \ _ \ \acute{x}$; but the two cadences are in effect on the ear far more alike than many so-called "subtypes" of any one of the orthodox five: *ofer cer-*

¹ See, for a summary, Kaluza, *Englische Metrik* (Berlin, 1909).

tainly had practically as strong a stress as *fromum*. And how much concerned was he to differentiate

nihtweorce gefeh [Beow., 827*b*]

from

secg weorce gefeh [*ibid.*, 1569*b*]?]

In each, *weorce* surely received a slightly less vigorous stress, as time-marker, than the different first words and the identical last (with or without the accompaniment of the harp). Theoretically in

floð bloð gewoð [Exod., 462*b*]

the *gewoð* should receive a secondary stress; but, unless the scop first looked it up in our diagrams, he must have yielded to the reiterated pulsations of the two preceding rhymes and come out with an "erroneous" primary.

III

Particularly in the so-called "expanded" lines must the stress-patterns have departed from the diagrams. Of such lines my previous papers took no account. And my metrical intelligence, still unwittingly dominated by learned books, was long uncertain of the solution; in this, I class myself quite cheerfully among the stupid. There have been three solutions, distinguishing them from normal lines: (*a*) for the orthodox they have three stresses in the hemistich in contrast to the normal two; (*b*) for some four-stress scholars they have six; (*c*) but for Kaluza (*E.M.*, pp. 104 ff.) they have the same four stresses as in his scansion of normal lines, with exactly the same correlations between speech-material and metrical beats, the expanding portion being for him at the beginning, in the nature of a long *Auftakt*—a hurried initiatory and unmetrical psalmodic monotone, like an athlete's running start before his metrically unified hop-skip-and-jump (the last comparison is mine). However, a lively reciter of the expanded lines in their context, who naïvely manipulates their Germanic speech-material with the same

variant plasticity to stress or non-stress as he would employ in reciting the *Nibelungen* or modern German or English asyllabic verse, will find that they do not differ metrically from the normal lines at all; they still make merely new variable cadences inside the four-stress half-line pattern. They are expanded lines only in the sense that they are expanded in speech-material. (Cancel n. 2 on p. 53 of my *Beowulf* translation.) Such few scholars as have denied the existence of expanded lines were right as to meter but wrong as to cadences.

We should, indeed, speak of a *more* or *less* expanded line: "expanded" is a relative term. If we start with a cadence built of speech-material reduced to the absolute minimum, as

sidra sorga [Beow., 149a],

then

Gewat him ða to waroðe [ibid., 234a]

is an expanded line. But there is also variability not only in the amount of speech-material, but in the relative intrinsic accentual force of the speech-material as time-marking syllables:

Mæg ðonne on ðæm golde ongitan [ibid., 1484a]

has a first stress (on *ðonne*) less vigorous than the first (on the alliterating *gan*) of

gan under gyldnum beage [ibid., 1163a],

though in speech-material it is more expanded. There should be no embarrassment here, even for the orthodox: similar phenomena are accepted as factual even in their own scansion of "normal" lines. But a stress may be relatively strong, even without alliteration, on rhetorical grounds, as the two following *sumne's*:

Sumne sceal hunger ahyðan · sumne sceal hreoh fordrifan
[Fates of Men, 15]

while the alliterative *hreoh* still remains the dominating stress. The strongest series of stresses comes where the alliteration is tripled; and, inasmuch as alliteration is organically structural

in OG, this departure from the normal maximum two of the first half-line (and occasional two of the second) serves to mark a special group. But they are a special group with reference to alliteration, not to meter; and the triple alliteration serves only to define and accentuate the exact metrical pattern that might otherwise be uncertain in the abnormal amount of speech-material. Sometimes, however, this triple alliteration eludes the modern reader:

Hyrde ic ðæt he ðone healsbeah Hyrde gesealde [*Beow.*, 2172],

a cadence that in modern English may be rendered as

Héard I that hé then the háss| ðck| hánd| èd
to Má| rý|

or

hássock| hánded| to Máry|.

The most fully expanded verses are sometimes of the strict A type. They may still be dipodic like the normal A. (I sometimes find myself reading the *he* in the line just cited with a dipodic cadence.) But often they are on the accentual pattern of three strong stresses in succession

x x x x x x x | x;

and sometimes they run

x x x x x x x | x,

as if an expansion of the C type. Yet, whatever the management of the primary and secondary stresses, there is always the same four-beat measure, correlated as one or more phases of this organic metrical complex of so many phases—this OG long-line of eight beats.

The familiar alternation of an expanded half-line with a half-line of reduced speech-material, as

Mæg ðonne on ðæm golde ongitan Geata dryhten [*Beow.*, 1484],

is an objective supporting circumstance for my view, if metrical experience be considered inadequate. The OS tended to develop

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long-lines after the nature of the first half-line just cited; the ON, after that of the second (strikingly in accord with the stark and laconic nature of ON in words, phrases, and even spiritual elements, the emotions and ideas).

My *Beowulf* translation has reduced lines like the second of the couplet (p. 33),

On he moved in anger; from eyes of him did glare,
Unto fire likest, a líght_ ùn_ fáir_;

and "expanded" lines like this (p. 129),

Purchased forsooth at a grim price,—circlet and sword and pelf.

The verse-norm of the translation is the first line of the couplet. The second line, particularly the second half, becomes the norm for verses of cadences like the "Pied Piper"; the "expanded" line for verses of cadences like Morris' *Sigurd*. The "Pied Piper" variant is thus metrically analogous to the ON evolution; the *Sigurd* to the OS.

IV

Professor W. J. Sedgefield¹ courageously admits in public what many scholars have long thought in private: "Regarded aesthetically, the AS versification can hardly be said to please the ear of even the practiced modern student." This was in 1922; and there is never a word to tell the unhappy beginner that many continental scholars in the Germanic countries have long read the verses entirely otherwise, and with much aesthetic satisfaction. And there is never a word in any other book published in English. I sometimes wonder if some of our scholars (in other matters so much better equipped than I am) have even as much as heard of the metrical scansion at all—or have at all realized that their scansion is unsatisfactory to the ear precisely because it is not metrical.

¹ See his *Anglo-Saxon Verse-Book*, "Publications of the University of Manchester, English Series," XIII (1922), 129.

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I wish devoutly that some one or another of them would examine the following line:

Over yónder afár in Morócco's domáins where the róofs of the
mósques are ashíne|_.

Let him repeat it, tapping to the eight beats with pencil on the arm of his chair, not forgetting the rest-beat at the end, till he has fixated its recitation in a given tempo:

Over yonder afar in Morocco's domains where the roofs of the
mosques are ashine.

Then let him chant, to the tap of his pencil continuously in this same tempo, down through these ten lines:

Over yonder afar in Morocco's domains where the roofs of
the mosques are ashine

They're fearing now already some night-attack of mine
Yonder afar in Morocco where roofs of mosques do shine.

Yonder in Morocco where roofs of mosques|_ shine
They're fearing|_ already some night-attack of mine
Afár|_ in Morocco where mosque|_ roofs|_ shine.

Fár|_ dówn|_ sóuth|_ the mosque-roofs shine
Where they're fearing, fearing, fearing some night-attack
of mine.

Fár|_ dówn|_ sóuth|_ mósqe|_ róofs|_ shíne|_
Over yonder afar in Morocco's domains in the kingdom so soon
to be mine.

He will find that each successive tap has coincided with each successive metrical beat (speech-beat or rest-beat), in spite of a syllabic variation from six to twenty-one syllables, and that the eightieth tap of his pencil synchronizes with the rest-beat after the tenth line. And he will find, too, that he has rendered the lines quite in accord with their intrinsic metrical pattern. Or, if he is unsuccessful in the experiment (after, say, a third trial), he should realize that *der liebe Gott* destined him for other things than Germanic versification. These lines of mine are not of course exact reproductions of AS verse; but they illustrate

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Germanic principles, an understanding of which alone makes possible any metrical reading of AS verse.¹

¹ Only since these notes—and the *Cid* monograph—were in type have I read Andreas Heusler's *Deutsche Versgeschichte* (Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin and Leipzig, Vol. I, 1925, Vol. II, 1927). In spite of great differences in terminology and manner of approach, and above all in the detail and comprehensiveness of his overwhelming scholarship, I feel I have at last found a friend and helper. At least I can follow his "Grundbegriffe der Verslehre" and most of his scansion of individual lines in Old Germanic—unbewildered and happy.

OLD WEST GERMANIC AND OLD NORSE



ERNST A. KOCK, *University of Lund*

“The great advantages of treating the different West Germanic literatures as a unit, in other words, the merits of the comparative method, are brought home to us in a very direct and convincing manner. Also the Old Norse literature has been drawn upon with a view to throwing light on obscure spots of Old English poetry.”—“Die gesamte altgermanische Überlieferungsmasse bildet eine grosse, untrennbare Einheit.”

Professor Fr. Klaeber, always ready to estimate in a generous way any serious attempt made by a fellow-searcher for truth, encouraged me, some years ago, by the words first quoted. Professor G. Neckel, in a work recently published, expresses a similar thought. The following notes are in harmony with the general view of the two scholars, and are, at the same time, a friendly hint to those still working in narrow grooves.

I

hwo sie gewīsodin, mid wārlōsun
mannun, mēngiwitun, an mahtigna Krist

—*Hel.*, 5065-66

Here *wārlōsun mannun* and *mēngiwitun* have been regarded as grammatically and logically parallel. I took the same view some years ago when I wrote my note on the passage in *Strz.*, page 28. What puzzled me was the fact that in no other case, if the second of two parallel members is placed at the end of an *a*-verse, is the first member placed like our *wārlōsun* / *mannun*. Among hundreds of instances I shall quote: *hann stendr sólu*

fyrir, / *skjöldr*, *skínanda* *goði* (*Grímnismál*, 38); *stream sceal on* *ȳðum* / *mencgan*, *mereflōde* (*Gnomic Verses Cott.*, 23 f.); *tho sie* *an hōhan wal* / *stigun*, *stēn endi berg* (*Hel.*, 3117 f.); *he on mōde* *wearð* / *forht*, *on ferhðe* (*Beow.*, 753 f.); *hwat he undar theru* *thiodu tholoian skolde* / *williendi*, *undar themu werode* (*Hel.*, 3182 f.). I found no other way out of the difficulty than adopting the earlier arrangement with *mannun* at the end of the b-verse, thus reckoning with an uncommon metrical type. Now I think we can preserve both regular parallelism and regular rhythm. It was a stanza in *Völuspá* that gave me the idea:

Sér hon þar vaða þunga strauga
menn meinsvara ok morðvarga.

This ON *menn meinsvara* answers closely to OS *men mēngewitun*. In both instances the second word, an *n*-stem like Gothic *usfairina*, ON *jafnaldra*, *-aldri*, OS *alowaldo*, etc., qualifies the first. But then the parallelism in the OS sentence belongs to quite another type, a common one:

hwo sie gewisodin mid wārlōsun
mannun, mēngiwitun.

Cf. *ferid unmet grōt* / *hungar*, *hetigrim* (*Hel.*, 4331 f.); *ðone wudu* *weardap wundrum fæzer* / *fuzel*, *feþrum stronȝ* (*Phoenix*, 85 f.); *þis wāce forlet lif*, / *þis læne* (*Edgar*, 2, 3); etc. A practical consequence of this discussion is that OS *giwito* should, as to its syntactical functions, be compared not only with OE *zewita*, 'testis' (noun), but also with OHG *giwizzo*, 'conscius' (adjective).

2

habda im mið is handun haramwerk mikil
*wamdādiun giwaraht

—OS *Gen.*, 35-36

According to MS and editions, Cain had committed *eine böse Tat*, or *böse Taten*, through *Übeltaten*, that is to say, "done evil by doing evil."¹ I think the scribe, possibly influenced by

¹ This sort of rhetoric is dwelt upon in *Int.*, No. 222; *Jff*, p. 55; and *Edd.*, No. 37.

the preceding *mið is handun*, introduced *dadiun* instead of *dadi*.
My readers may compare:

endi forlātan fiundes giwerk,
diu bules gidādi

—*Hel.*, 1365 f.

that sie im iro harmwerk manag hreuwān lētin,
feldin iro firindādi

—*ibid.*, 1140 f.

habda im mið is handun haramwerk mikil,
wamdādi, giwaraht.

All the accusatives mean the same thing. Further parallel expressions for 'wicked deeds' are to be found in *Crist*, 1300 f.; 1302 ff.; *Gen.*, 2580 f.; *Hymn*, 6, 20 f.; *Psalm Cott.*, 43 f.; *Phoenix*, 456 f.; etc.

3

In Old Germanic poetical compounds, words connected with the ideas of hostility, compulsion, distress, terror, and death were frequently used for the purpose of imparting to the second component part a strong hue of destruction, horror, or gloom. Such words were **baðu-*, **haþu-*, **hilð-*, **uīz-*, 'war,' 'fight,' 'battle' (§§ 4-7); **inwið-*, 'malice,' 'hatred' (§ 8); **naru-*, **naʁð-*, **haft-*, **prau-*, 'oppression,' 'distress,' 'bondage' (§§ 9-12); **zruz-*, 'horror'; **zalz-*, 'gallows' (§ 13); **ual-*, 'death' (§§ 14, 15); **heru-*, 'sword' (§ 16).

4

OE *beadu-cwealm* (*Andreas*, 1702), literally means 'war-death,' 'death in battle.' But Andrew did not fall in war or battle. He was crucified. Hence Krapp's sole translation, 'death in battle,' is no true equivalent. The real meaning of the word in this case is 'violent, cruel, horrible death.'¹

5

ON *høðglammi* (*Skj.*, I, 2, 10) literally means 'war-wolf,' but Bragi uses it in about the same way as we might talk of a

¹ Cf. Bosworth-Toller, Grein-Köhler, and *NV*, § 802.

'horrible, ravening wolf' (NN, § 156). OE *heaðo-fȳr* (*Beow.*, 2547) might have had the same signification as ON *gunn-eldr*, *morð-bál*, *branda storms leygr*, OE *beado-leoma*, *hilde-leoma* (as used in *Beow.*, 1143), etc., seeing that *heaðo* means the same as *gunnr*, *morð*, *branda stormr*, *beado*, *hild*, and *fȳr* the same as *eldr*, *bál*, *leygr*, *leoma*. But the word neither means a 'war-flame' in the sense of 'sword' nor yet does it refer to any fire during a war. It is used of subterranean fire, of 'destructive, hideous flames,' from which a torrent gushing out of the rock derived its gloomy heat (NN, § 802). *Heaðu-wylm*; literally 'battle-surge,' means 'destructive, devouring, horrible flame, or fire'; *heaðu-swenȝ* means 'terrible blow'; *heaðo-zrim* means 'intensely or horribly fierce.'

6

OE *hilde-leoma*, literally 'war-flame,' 'battle-light,' is used in *Beow.*, 2583, of the 'destructive flames' vomited by the dragon. Cf. *wæl-fȳr*, to which it is parallel (§ 15), and *heaðu-wylm* (§ 5).

7

ON *víg-band* (*Völuspá*, st. 34) literally means 'kriegsband,' 'kriegsfessel' (Gering), 'drabsbånd' (*Lexicon poeticum*). But it is used in reference to the fettering of Loki. And Loki neither was captured in war, nor was he killed in his fetters. Words that suit the occasion are 'hateful fetter,' 'oppressive bond,' 'heavy chain' (NN, § 802). Fetters are frequently provided with such attributes; cf. here below (§§ 8-12, 14, 16); *víg-tár* (*Skj.*, I, 251, 22), 'bitter tear' (NN, § 1120).

8

OE *inwit-wrāsen* (*Andreas*, 946), 'treacherous chain.' Similarly, *inwit-ȝyren* (§ 14), *inwit-net*, etc.

9

ON *nornauð*, OE *nearunȳd*, 'oppressive, cruel, heavy chain' (NN, § 51). **Nauð*- (Ger. *Not*, Eng. *need*) has, besides the usual

abstract meaning, also a distinctly concrete one. ON *hofgar nauðir* (*Völundarkviða*, 11) means 'heavy chains,' *folvar nauðir* (*Sigrdrífumál*, 1) means 'pallid [gray, gloomy] fetters.' In OE *hine Nīðhād on¹ nēde lezde*, / *swoncre seonobende*, 'on him laid Nithhad fetters, supple sinew-bands' (*Deor*, 5 f.), *nēde* corresponds to ON *nauðir* and OE *bende*. Bosworth-Toller and Grein-Köhler ignore the fact. Certainly, in many instances the two meanings cannot be kept apart. ON *ór nauðum*, OE *of nȳdum*, etc., were used of all sorts of distress, also captivity and chains. The compound *nearu-nēdum* (*Andreas*, 102) is a variation of *leoðubendum*, 'bonds,' 'fetters,' and may be translated accordingly. Krapp renders it by 'oppression,' 'bondage.' *Nornauð folva*, emendation of *Atlakviða*, 16 (*NN*, § 51), corresponds to an OE *nearunȳd fealwe* (cf. § 12). ON *nor-fár*, emendation of *Skj.*, I, 37, 25 (*NN*, § 1037), OE *nearu-fāh* (*Beow.*, 2317), is used of the goddess of death and of the fire-drake.

10

Gothic *naudi-bandi* means the same as OE *nearu-nȳd*, etc. (§ 9): *naudibandjōm eisarneinaim gabindan* (Mark 5:3).

11

ON *hapt-band* is another synonym. *Haptbōnd snúa* (*Skj.*, II, 277 and 344) resembles *vígþōnd snúa* (§ 7).

12

OE *þrea-nȳd* is rendered by 'force,' 'compulsion,' 'afflictio,' 'oppressio.' But my point in § 9 also holds good here. The meaning is distinctly concrete in *Panther*, 58 ff.:

þæt is se ealda feond,
þone he zesælde in sūsla grund
& zefetrade fȳrnum teazum,
biþeahhte þreanȳdum.

¹ Cf. *NN*, § 612, III A.

OE *ȝryre-sīð* (*Beow.*, 1462) gives about the same feeling of horror and uncanniness as ON *galgvegr*, 'pernicious path' (*Grógaldur*, 9; *NN*, § 74), and *galguiðr*, 'dismal forest' (*Völuspá*, st. 42; *NN*, § 308). *ȝryre-fāh* (*Beow.*, 2576) is ambiguous as to the force of the second component part. I am inclined to make one group of *ȝryre-fāh*, *wæl-fāh*, and *wæl-fāhð* (see § 15). If this view be correct, *ȝryre-fāh* means 'hideously hostile or aggressive,' 'terrible.'

OE *wæl-* is very common. *Wæl-bend* (*Beow.*, 1936) and *wæl-clam* (*Gen.*, 2128) mean 'deadly bond,' 'quelling fetter.' A *wæl-rāp* or a *wæl-sāda* would mean the same thing. However, editors and lexicographers are of the opinion that *wæl* and *weal* in *Beow.*, 1610 and *Psalm* 139:5 represent two other words: *wæl-*, 'gorges,' 'deep,' 'sea,' and *wealh-*, 'captive,' 'slave.' Differing from them I read:

þæt hit eal gemealt īse ȝelicost,
ðonne forstes bend Fæder onlæteð,
onwinded wæl-rāpas
—*Beow.*, 1608-10

[‘That all it melted, just as does the ice
whene’er the heav’nly Father does relax
the bond of frost, unwinds the quelling chains.’]

forhȳddan oferhyȝde me inwitȝyrene,
wrāððan wælsādan
—*Psalm*, 139:5

[‘The proud have hid for me a treacherous snare,
an evil deadly cord.’]

The supposed *wæl-rāpas*, 'deep-water-fetters,' would stand isolated among the numerous *wæl-* compounds. And there is no particular temptation to associate winter's 'bond of frost' with the deep alone, when each pool and streamlet is covered with ice, and all nature seems dead. Also *wealh-sāda*, 'a noose for

binding a captive or slave,' seems somewhat strange. The alteration *weal* > *wæl* is slight enough; *ea* and *ae* were often confused.

15

Other compounds with *wæl-* are *wæl-fȳr*, 'deadly, murderous, destructive fire' (*Beow.*, 2582); *wæl-reȝn*, 'deadly, fatal rain,' of the rain that caused the flood (*Gen.*, 1350); *wæl-sceaft*, *wæl-spere*, *wæl-stenȝ*, 'deadly, destructive shaft, or spear'; and *wæl-fāhð*, 'deadly feud,' 'violent contest' (*Beow.*, 2028). With this last noun I think we may connect the adjective in *Beow.*, 1128:

Henȝest ða ȝyt
wælfāȝne winter wunode mid Finne.

If the two words belong together, Hall's 'the dead, forbidding winter' is an excellent translation.

16

OS *heru-bendi*, *heru-sēl*, do not combine the ideas of 'sword' and 'bond' in any manner familiar to modern thinking. In rendering *heftun heru-bendiun handi tesamne* (*Hel.*, 4919) or *hnēg thō an heru-sēl*, *an henginna*, *warag*, *an wurgil* (*ibid.*, 5169 f.) we resort to expressions like 'cruel fetters' or 'horrible halter.' OE *heoru-ȝifre* (*Beow.*, 1498) means 'fiercely ravenous,' 'grimly greedy,' or the like.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Beow.* *Beowulf.*
Edd. E. A. Kock, "Bidrag till eddatolkningen," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, XXXV-XXXVIII.
Gen. *Genesis.*
Hel. *Heliand.*
Int. E. A. Kock, "Interpretations and Emendations of Early English Texts," *Anglia*, XXVII, 218 ff.
Jff E. A. Kock, *Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings*. Lund, 1918.
NN E. A. Kock, *Notationes Norrænæ*. Lund, 1923 ff.
Skj. *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*. København, 1912-15.
Strz. E. A. Kock, *Kontinentalgermanische Streifzüge*. Lund, 1919.

LOSS OF A NASAL BEFORE LABIAL CONSONANTS

⊙

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The problem to be dealt with in this paper has not been totally overlooked, but it has not been made the subject of special study. Loss of a nasal before *w* is assumed by Mr. Baddeley (*Place-Names of Gloucestershire*) for *Stowell*, which is derived by him from *stān-wiella*, and by Professor Mawer, dealing with *Staward* Nb.¹ The phenomenon is, however, quite common, and a collection of material with a few notes may not be found without interest. The material does not claim to be complete. Very likely more examples will come to light as more material is made accessible. Some examples are placed here provisionally, as early material is not available or not sufficiently conclusive. Most examples are compounds containing as first element OE *stān*, 'stone.'

OE *stān-ford*, 'stony ford,' appears frequently as *Stoford* or *Stowford*. It is true *Stowford* may in some cases go back to some other source, as *stow-ford* or even *stoc-ford*. However, the probability seems to be that the *Sto(w)fords* represent *Stanford*. A perfectly certain example is that placed first. For some examples, forms with *a*, later *o*, rule out any element containing OE *o* or short *a* (as *stow*, *stocc*, *stæf*, *stæþ*). The base must have had OE *ā*, and it is difficult to think of any other element than *stān*, 'stone.'

Lr Stoford So (farm W. of Bishop's Lydyeard): *Stanford* 904 BCS 610.

¹ A list of abbreviations appears at the end of this study (see pp. 26-27).

Stoford So (ca. 1½ mi. S. of Yeovil): *Stoford* 1274 Ipm, *Stauford* 1284-85 FA (no doubt for *Stanford*), *Stafor* 1316 FA.

Stowford D (Bradworthy): *la Stane Wrth*, *Stovorde* 1279 Ipm, *Stoneford* 1303 FA, *Stone* 1346 *ibid*.

Stowford D (West Down, Braunton hd): *Estaneforda* Exon DB, *Staveford* DB (probably for *Stane*-).

Stowford D (NE. of Launceston): *Estatforda* Exon DB, *Stafor* DB, *Stouford* 1303 FA. The *ā* must have been long.

Stowford D (near Chittlehampton): *Stafford* 1284-86, *Stouford* 1303 FA.

Stowford D (near Ivybridge): *Estaforda* Exon DB, *Stafor* DB, *Stouford* 1303 FA.

Further cases are:

Stowford W (seat near Bradford on Avon): *Stowford* 1458 BM.

Stoford W (near Wilton): *Stoford* 1284 Ipm, *Stouford* 1352 Ipm.

Stowford D (h. N. of Bulkworthy).

Stowford D (h. N. of Bratton Fleming).

OE *stanford* is probably the first element of

Staverton D: *Stofordtun* ca. 1060 KCD 940. It is doubtful if any other Stavertons belong here, as those in Gl, Np, Sf, and W. *Stavordale* So (S. of Bruton) may be a case in point.

OE *stān-weorþ* is the source of

Staward Nb: *Staworthe* 1271 Sc, *Stannord* 1290 Ipm, etc. (see Mawer).

OE *stānweg*, 'stony road,' i.e., 'paved road,' is the source of

Stowey So (par. 8 mi. S. of Bristol): *Staweie* Muchelny 87, *Stawey* 1290 QW, *Staweie* 1303, *Staweie* 1316 FA.

Nether and *Over Stowey* So (W. of Bridgwater on the road from Bridgwater to Watchet): *Stalvvei*, *Stawei* DB, *Estaluueia* Exon DB, *Scaweie*, *Stoweie*, *Nuthere-stoweie* 1276 RH.

Old Stowey So (Cutcombe): *Holestoweie* 1303, 1346, *Holestoweie* 1428 FA, 'the hollow stony road.'

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OE *stānwiell(a)*, 'stony stream':

Stawell So (par. E. of Bridgwater; on a tributary of the Parret): *Stanwelle*, *Stawelle* DB, *Estanwella* Exon DB, *Stawell*, *Stanwelle* 1276 RH.

Stowell So (par. SW. Wincanton): *Estawella* Exon DB, *Stawell* 1276 RH, *Stauwelle* 1284-85, *Stawell* 1303 FA.

Stowell W (SW. Marlborough): *Stowelle* 1300 Ch.

Stowell Gl (par. SW. Northleach): *Stanuuelle* DB, *Stawelle* ca. 1275, *Stowelle* 1275 Winchcomb.

The exact etymology is doubtful in the case of *Stow Wood* O. Possibly the forms below belong to different places or the place was known by more than one name: *Stauuorde* DB, *Stwawode* 1142, *Stawode* 1232 Frideswide, *Stowde* 1233 Cl, *Stowude Stovord* 1259 RH, *Stowode*, *Stoford* 1279 RH, *Stoford* 1316 FA. The forms may point to OE *stān-weorþ* or *stān-ford* or *stān-wudu*. *Stauuorde* DB is given among forests. This suggests that the later *-wode*, *-wood* is due to popular etymology.

A possible case of loss of *n* before *b* is

Stoberry Park So (seat near Wells). No early examples have been met with, but OE *stānbeorh* is a plausible source.

The river-name *Tone* So is the first element of:

Tobridge: *Tonbrugge*, *Tobrygge* 1340 BM, *Tobrigge* 1384 Pat.

There is actually one example of loss of *n* also in the river-name, viz., *Tay* 1227 FF. In OE sources the form is *Tan*, *Taan*, once genitive *Tanis*, and it cannot be doubted that *Tān* is the original form. The *n*-less form is very likely a back-formation from compounds such as *Tobridge*. There is also *Toneford* (*Tan-ford* 1227 FF) where *n* would also tend to be dropped. It is possible that *Tay* has been misread or miscopied for *Tan*. In favor of an *n*-less form, however, we may point to *Taa land* tenth (twelfth) KCD 897. Here we may of course have a case of loss of *n* before *l*.

Loss of *m* is found in *Havant* Ha: *Haman funta* 935 (twelfth) BCS 707, *Hafunt* ca. 984 (twelfth) KCD 642, *Havehunte* DB.

From the material collected we may draw certain conclusions.

First, it is obvious that the loss of the nasal in a stressed syllable must have taken place at an early period. The occurrence of examples in Exon DB and DB tells us that it falls in late OE or the transitional period between OE and ME. Forms such as *Staverton*, *Stawell* also show that it took place before the change of $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$. We must conclude that the change is independent of Norman influence.

The local distribution of the forms with loss of a nasal is noteworthy. Most are to be found in the southwest, in So and D. There are instances outside these counties (O, W, Gl), but *Staward* Nb stands by itself outside West Saxon. The change is at any rate chiefly West Saxon.

In all the examples, with the possible exception of *Havant*, the loss has taken place after \bar{a} , which in most cases became \bar{o} later. *Havant*, however, may well have \bar{a} too, the first element being *Hāma*, personal name. We must then assume that the \bar{a} was shortened before the period of the change of \bar{a} into \bar{o} . The fact that the loss seems restricted to the position after \bar{a} is curious, but it may be due to chance. Most examples contain the OE word *stān*. There were not many other elements ending in *-n* that would occur in place-names. It is possible that the loss of *n* has taken place sometimes in the common place-name *Wooburn*, *Woburn*, but the *n*-less form more probably represents the OE nominative *Wōburna*, the oblique *Wōnburna* having given rise to later *Womburn*, *Umborne*, and the like.

In *Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*, s.v. *Brayfield*, it is suggested that the loss of *n* in this name is analogous to that in *Havant*, etc. But the series of forms (*Bragenfeld* 967—*Brahefeld* ca. 1175—*Bragefeld* 1184) rather indicates that *n* was lost in the normal way in an unstressed syllable.

The probability seems to be that the condition for the loss was the position between a long vowel (or a long \bar{a}) and a labial

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consonant. This is not certain, however, for in a case like *Staverton* the *ā* of *Stānfordtūn* may have been shortened before the loss took place. If we may assume loss of a nasal between a short vowel and a labial, we might get a satisfactory explanation of the curious *a*-forms of *Wooburn* Bk (*Waborne* DB, etc.; see *Place-Names of Buckinghamshire*). This cannot well be anything else than a compound of OE *wōh*, 'crooked,' and *burna*. *Wooburn* represents OE *wōburna* nominative. The oblique form *wōnburnan* might have given early ME *Waburne* in the following way. The *ō* was shortened before *nb*, and *won-* became already OE *wan-* in the same way as OE *Frōm-* became *Fram-* in *Frampton*, or *Lōn-* became *Lan-* in *Lancaster*. There was, in early OE, no real *o* before nasals, and an *ǒ* due to borrowing or shortening was likely to pass by sound-substitution into the open *o* or dark *a* that had developed from *a* before nasals (as in *man*, *mon*). This sound later became *a* in most dialects, and we consequently find *Frampton*, *Lancaster*, and the like in early ME sources.

It is not easy to account satisfactorily for the loss of the nasal before labials. Further material is really wanted, and I prefer for the present to leave that part of the question alone.

It should be added that in West So dialect occurs a form of *stone* with loss of *n*: *stoo*.¹ Kruisinga explains it as possibly a back-formation from *stone* when used as a noun of mass. This cannot well be a form old enough to explain the numerous *Stowells*, etc.

It is possible that the loss of *n* in *vaward* is an example of the sound-change under discussion. The word appears as *vantwarde* 1297 Rob. Gl, *vamward*, *vaumward* 1338 Rob. Br, *vaward* 1375 Barb., etc. (see *NED*). But here the loss of *n* seems to be a great deal later than in the place-names, and it may be due to French pronunciation of *am* as a nasalized *a*.

¹ Kruisinga, *Dialect of West Somerset*, § 466.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

EXCURSUS

In trying to identify the OE examples of *Stānweg* I have come to the conclusion that the charter referring to *Wudetune* BCS 969 and found in Codex Wintoniensis has been wrongly located by Birch. He takes *Wudetune* to be *Wootton* Ha. In the boundaries occur *Canuc* and *Canu rih*. This it is most natural to identify with *Cannock* St. It is noteworthy that another charter in Codex Wintoniensis wrongly identified by Birch refers to a Stafford manor, viz. BCS 987. See my article in the *Luick Festschrift*.

Wudetune is possibly identical with *Wodestone* DB, a lost manor in Offlow hd, which is in the Cannock district. Other bounders are not very conclusive. But *Weal-dic* may be compared with *Wall* south of Lichfield, and *Stanweg* would refer to Watling Street, which runs near Cannock. The context suggests that *Canuc* denoted an eminence (*on Canuc ufeweardre*). The conclusion would seem to be that Cannock originally denoted some particular eminence, not the whole district.

If the identification suggested is correct, the generally accepted derivation of *Cannock* from *cnoc* is ruled out of court.

ABBREVIATIONS

Barb.	Barbour's <i>Bruce</i>
BCS	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> (ed. Birch)
Bk	Buckinghamshire
BM	<i>Index to the Charters and Rolls in the British Museum</i>
Ch	<i>Calendar of Charter Rolls</i>
Cl	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
D	Devonshire
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
FA	<i>Feudal Aids</i>
FF	<i>Feet of Fines</i>
Gl	Gloucestershire
h.	hamlet
Ha	Hampshire
hd	hundred

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Ipm	<i>Calendar of Inquisitions post mortem</i>
KCD	Kemble, <i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i>
Nb	Northumberland
Np	Northamptonshire
O	Oxfordshire
par.	parish
Pat.	Patent Rolls
QW	<i>Placita de quo Warranto</i> (1818)
RH	<i>Rotuli Hundredorum</i>
Rob. Br	<i>The Chronicle of Robert of Brunne</i>
Rob. Gl	<i>The Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester</i>
Sc	Scotch or Scotland
Sf	Suffolk
So	Somersetshire
St	Staffordshire
W	Wiltshire

MORPHOLOGICAL NOTES



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I. ANALOGICAL "GRAMMATICAL CHANGE" IN GERMANIC

That analogy may produce new grammatical forms is a fact so well established that no examples need be given to illustrate it. But that "grammatical change" in Germanic was felt to be so important an element in tense-differentiation that it was employed in this way by analogy, has not, so far as I know, been pointed out. The one dialect that is an exception to this is Gothic, and here "grammatical change" in the verb system was regularly lost.

To illustrate the analogical use of "grammatical change" we will take the verb *gedeihen*, with the various forms as they occur in Old English. We may conveniently write the original forms as **pinhan*, *panh*, *þungun*, *þungan*, which would give pre-OE **þīhan*, *þōh*, *þungun*, *þungan*, with the original Germanic "grammatical change." The third and fourth forms of the foregoing regularly appear as OE *þunгон*, *þungen*.

At the time that **þīhan* occurred, the verb went by analogy into the first ablaut series in all the Germanic dialects. We therefore find OE *þāh*, corresponding to Goth. *þaih*, OS *thēh*, and OHG *gidēh*, all analogical forms such as we should expect. These analogical changes took place long after the working of Verner's law, which depended upon the difference in accent. Therefore OE *þigon*, *þigen*, and OHG *gidigun*, *gidigan* have *g* after the analogy of verbs that regularly show the interchange *h:g*.

In OE this analogical change is made doubly certain. For

pre-OE **þīhan* becomes OE *þēon*, simulating the form of a verb of the second ablaut series and bringing in its train *þēah: þugon, þogen*, with late analogical interchange *h:g*.

Similarly, OE has *tēon* 'accuse' (**tīhan*), *tēah: p.p. togen*, together with the historically correct *tigen; wrēon* 'cover' (**wrihan*), *wrēah: wrugon, wrogen*, and the older forms *wrāh: wrigon, wrigen*.

2. THE LOSS OF "GRAMMATICAL CHANGE"

Forms contrary to Verner's law are found under various circumstances. First in aorist presents: OE *gnīdan, gnād* (but also the regular, though late appearing, *forgnāþ*), OHG *gnītan, gneit* (for **gneid*); OE *būgan, bēag*, OHG *biogan* (with leveling from normal verbs), *boug: buhil* 'hill'; OE *fricgan, fræg, frignan, frægn*, OS *fregnan, fragn*: Goth. *fraihnan, frah*; OE *cnedan, cnæd*, OHG *knetan, knat*: OBulg. *gnetq* 'knead,' etc. In all these verbs the pret. sing. would regularly have the voiceless spirant.

Leveling may take place where the vowel is similar, as in the p.p. of the fifth ablaut series, which has *s* instead of *r*; or the pret. sing. of the sixth series, which is leveled to the plural: OE *fnesan, lesan, genesan* (with *s* throughout), OHG *lesan, las: lārūn, gileran* (and *s* throughout), etc. But OE *wesan* 'be,' which has no p.p. **wesen*, makes the pret. plur. *wāron*; and *for-wesan* has the p.p. *forweren, -woren*, with which compare OHG *irweran* 'confectus.' In the pret. of the sixth series, leveling is the rule: *slōg, slōgon; stōd, stōdon*, etc., with corresponding forms in OHG, but Goth. *stōþ, stōþun* (with reverse leveling), etc. Similarly in the first series, OE *rīsan* has *s* throughout and *mīþan, wrīþan* have *þ* in all forms, though other words with *þ* have "grammatical change." OHG *mīdan* early loses its "grammatical change" and *rīdan* 'drehen' has p.p. *giridan*.

By back-formation may arise a form not historically correct, as OE *findan, fand*, made over from *fundon, funden*: Goth. *finþan*, OS *fithan* (and by analogy *findan*), OHG *findan, fand: funtun, funtan*. In the same way may have been formed OE

bringan, OHG *dringan* 'dringen' if identical with Goth. *þreihan*. OHG *swelhan*, *swalh*:*swulgun*, *giswolgan* would lead us to expect OE **swēolan*, **swealh*:*swulgon*, *swolgen*, instead of *swelgan*, *swealg*, etc. Perhaps OE *swealh* is original and not for *swealg*.

3. NEW ENGLISH *run*

NE *run* implies an OE **runnan* or **urnan*, identical with OFris. *runna*, MDu., MLG *runnen*, and corresponding to Skt. *ṛṇvati* 'rise, move.' This is not a secondary ablaut as sometimes explained. On the other hand, Goth. *rinnan* and the allied forms may be a substituted form from Ger. **runnan*, *rann*, etc. Otherwise we must assume double forms: pre-Ger. **renwō* and **rṇwō*, which is of course quite possible. These would imply nasalized forms from the stem **rewo-*, whence the noun-stem **ru-ni-* in Goth. *runs*, OE *ryne* 'a running, course.'

4. NEW ENGLISH *woman*:*women*

The two forms of this word in New English, pronounced *wumən*:*wimin*, give a most interesting illustration of how a divergent development may be seized upon to differentiate one grammatical form from another. The original OE *wīfmann*, becoming *wimman* by assimilation and a shortening of the vowel, might then regularly develop into either of the NE forms, since OE *wi-* may remain unchanged or become *wu-*, e.g., the original OE *widu* appears as *wudu*, NE *wood*, while the OE doublets *widewe*:*wuduwe* have resulted in NE *widow*. If these two words had developed as *woman*:*women*, the singular and plural might now be *wood*:**wid*; **woodow*:*widow*. The use of the two forms *woman*:*women* was no doubt occasioned by the occurrence of umlauted plurals, as: *man*:*men*; *foot*:*feet*; *mouse*:*mice*.

5. THE GENITIVE PLURAL OF *n*-STEMS

The gen. plur. fem. of *n*-stems ended in pre-Ger. in *-ānōm*: Goth. *tuggōnō*, OHG *zungōno*, OS *tungono*, OE *tungana*, with which compare the gen. plur. of *ā*-stems in OHG *gebōno*, OS

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geþono, ON runic *runono*: Skt. *áçvānām* 'equarum.' This form occurred by the side of *-(o)nōm*, as in ON *kvenna* (**kwenanō*), *kvinna* (**kwinno*), *gatna*, OE *tungena*, *tungna*, Gr. *-ῶων*, as in masc. and neut. *n*-stems. The Ger. gen. plur. fem. in *-ōnō* accounts, as generally explained, for the similar ending in masc. and neut. *n*-stems: OHG *hanōno*, *herzōno*, OS *hanono*, *hertono*, OE *welona*, *Gotona*, *ēarana* (by the side of forms in *-ena*, *-na*). This form could not have originated in Germanic, for here the masc. and neut. forms would then be identical with the fem., and the tendency would rather have been to differentiate. The change must have occurred in pre-Ger., the masc. and neut. gen. plur. becoming *-ōnōm* after the analogy of the fem. in *-ānōm*, just as Lat. *-ōrum*, as in *equōrum*, *bellōrum*, was modeled after *-ārum*, as in *equārum*.¹ These two forms, *-ānōm* and *-ōnōm*, fell together in Germanic, which would naturally result in Ger. *-anō* being preferred in the masc. and neut. Hence Goth. *hananē*, *hairtanē* (even with the nom., acc. plur. *hairtōna*), *auhsnē*, ON runic *arðijano*, OE *hanena*, *oxna*, OS rarely *-eno*, but OHG always *-ōno*, aside from the one occurrence of *heilegeno* in Isaiah 26:7.

¹ Brugmann, *Grundriss*, Vol. II, Part 2, page 256.

CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF THE GERUND IN ENGLISH

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The recent appearance of an able monograph, *On the Origin of the Gerund in English*,¹ by Dr. George Ch. van Langenhove, of the University of Ghent, opens afresh a much-disputed question, and will perhaps justify a brief reconsideration of the theories hitherto offered as to the origin of the English gerund, that is, the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) having an accusative object.

Dr. van Langenhove's monograph bears the subtitle *Phonology*, and is restricted almost exclusively to a consideration of the phonological problem involved in the origin of the English gerund. The subtitle leads one to hope that in a subsequent monograph the syntactical problem involved in the gerund will be investigated, but there is no promise to that effect.

In his Introduction (pp. v-xii) Dr. van Langenhove gives a rapid survey of previous discussions concerning the origin of the English gerund, as that of Professor J. L. Armstrong,² who holds that the English gerund is not indebted to the inflected infinitive, but is merely the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) that has acquired verbal rection through identity of form with the present participle in *-ing* (*op. cit.*, p. 205); that of Professor H. Logeman,³ who contends that the gerund in all the Germanic

¹ Published in *Recueil de Travaux Publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Gand*, 56^e fascicule. Gand: Van Rysselberghe & Rombaut; Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925. Pp. xxviii+132. Cited as Lang.

² "The Gerund in Nineteenth-Century English," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, VII (1892), 200-211.

³ In his *Rule of St. Benet* (E.E.T.S., No. 90; London, 1888), pp. 119-121; and in his "Det Saakaldte Passive Nutidsparticip i Norsk og Beslægtede Sprog," *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, XXX (1913-1914), 17-42; cited respectively as Logeman¹ and Logeman².

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languages is derived from, or, better, is identical with, the inflected infinitive, the infinitival suffix *-enne* (*-anne*) having become *-end(e)*, *-ind(e)*, *-and(e)*; and the latter suffix having become *-ing(e)* in early Middle English;¹ that of Professor G. O. Curme,² who insists that the English gerund springs from the Old English verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), with little or no help from the present participle or from foreign languages, especially French;³ and that of Dr. Eugen Eienkel,⁴ who allows that the English gerund is somewhat indebted to the Old English inflected infinitive and to the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), but contends that the English gerund "originated through Anglo-Norman influence on the present participle, whose original suffix in *-ende* (later *-inde*) was changed into *-ing(e)* first of all in some Southern dialects . . . and then from there gradually spread over the Midlands to the North."⁵

The previous treatments of our problem seem inconclusive to Dr. van Langenhove; and the inconclusiveness appears to him to have arisen chiefly from the fact that the problem has hitherto been attacked primarily from the standpoint of syntax, whereas he thinks the natural starting-point should be phonological. Accordingly, Dr. van Langenhove begins with the phonology of the gerund, his present fascicle being devoted almost exclusively thereto.

¹ Logeman², p. 32; cf. Lang., pp. v-vi.

² In his "History of the English Gerund," *Englische Studien*, XLV (1912), 348-380; his "The Gerund in Old English and German," *Anglia*, XXXVIII (1914), 491-498; and his "The Old English Gerund Again," *Englische Studien*, XLIX (1916), 323; cited respectively as Curme¹, Curme², and Curme³.

³ Curme², p. 496.

⁴ In his "Zur Geschichte des englischen Gerundiums," *Anglia*, XXXVII (1913), 382-392; his "Die Entwicklung des englischen Gerundiums," *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1914), 1-76; his "Nachträge zum Gerundium," *ibid.*, p. 212; his "Zur Herkunft des englischen Gerundiums," *ibid.*, pp. 499-504; and his *Geschichte der englischen Sprache* (3d ed.; Strassburg, 1916), Vol. II, "Historische Syntax"; and his "Neues aus dem Gebiete der historischen Syntax," *Anglia*, XLVII (1923), 274-286; cited respectively as Eienkel¹, Eienkel², Eienkel³, Eienkel⁴, Eienkel⁵, and Eienkel⁶.

⁵ Lang., p. vii; Eienkel², pp. 19-22, 27-28; etc.

Dr. van Langenhove's investigation of the phonology of the English gerund is remarkably detailed, painstaking, and broad. He devotes a chapter each to "The Verbal Noun" (pp. 1-38), "The Present Participle" (pp. 39-85), and "The Infinitive" (pp. 86-127). In each of these chapters he discusses the inflectional endings under two general headings ("The Vowel of the Suffix" and "The Consonant-Combination"), first in Old English and then in Middle English; and, in each of these epochs, he takes account of the various dialectical differences affecting the suffixes under consideration.

The brief section (not chapter) devoted to the "Origin of the Gerund" (pp. 127-132) by this author is summed up in this final sentence of his monograph (p. 132):

The infinitive in -ing, commonly called the Gerund, . . . owes its existence to a double confusion: (a) of the inflected and uninflected infinitives, as its form is the inflected one without the preposition to; (b) of this infinitive in -n and the verbal noun in -ing, both words having in the spoken language the same form, often the same meaning, sometimes the same construction.

The chief grounds for this final statement are given in the conclusion to Dr. van Langenhove's chapter on the infinitive (pp. 125-127). There he tells us (1) that "ever since early Middle English the inflected infinitive occasionally ended in *-ing*, thus being identical in form with the verbal noun" in *-ing* (*op. cit.*, p. 125); (2) that "the prepositional infinitive in *-ing* does not continue the late Old English and early Middle English inflected infinitive with *-nd-*, . . . for, as appears from the preceding paragraph, these infinitives with *-nd-* were restricted to some Southern vernaculars, and not only never spread over the Midland, but also failed to reach several Southern districts; whereas infinitives with *-ng-* are found in Southern as well as in Midland authors. Hence the infinitive in *-ing-* must have had another origin, and as a matter of fact is more easily accounted for" (*op. cit.*, p. 125); (3) that the prepositional infinitive in *-ing* was derived either (a) from the OE inflected infinitive in *-enne* or

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(b) more probably from the uninflected infinitive in *-n*. The grounds for thesis (3) (a) and (b) are thus stated by the author, on page 126, and constitute the gist, not only of his chapter on the infinitive, but also of his monograph as a whole:

Already in early Middle English most Southern and certainly nearly all Midland and Northern dialects had reduced the original ending in *-enne* either to /*in*/ or /*ən*/. This stage once having been reached, the substitution of /*ɪŋ*/ for /*n*/ in a final syllable with reduced secondary stress or weak stress was an easy process, which is still daily illustrated in Modern English and other Germanic languages. Yet even this assumption is not absolutely necessary, since in late Old English the verbal noun occasionally ends in /*n*/, a termination which was also fully developed during the Middle English period, and actually predominates in nearly all English and Scottish dialects since the 14th century, *i.e.*, since the time in which prepositional infinitives in *-ing* become more frequent. So that the latter are obviously due to the fact that in the spoken language the infinitives in *-n* and the verbal noun in *-n* were no longer distinguished the one from the other. That this is the real explanation of the case is further proved by the fact that occasionally past participles in *-n* also appear in *-ing*, especially in Northern, yet also in Midland and Southern authors, as may be illustrated by the use of *holdinge*, *unknowyng*, *beholdyng*, and *takyng*.

He then gives examples of past participles in *-ing*.

Though I am inclined to believe that the *nd*- infinitive was more of a factor in this confusion of forms than Dr. van Langenhove allows, one may concede, as the present writer cheerfully does concede, that Dr. van Langenhove's contention that this wholesale confusion between the endings of the uninflected infinitive, the inflected infinitive, and the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) may have taken place substantially as claimed by him, and yet not concede the correctness of his deduction that the English gerund, that is, the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) having an accusative object, "owes its existence" to such confusion. My own dissent is based on the fact that sporadic examples of a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) having an accusative object occur in the

Vespasian Psalter,¹ which text, according to Henry Sweet,² belongs to the first half of the ninth century, thus before the confusion of forms had become common. The dissent is based, also, on the conviction that the origin of the gerund in English is primarily a problem, not of phonology, but of syntax, specifically, the acquisition of accusative-governing power by the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), to which we now turn.

As to the acquisition of this accusative-governing power, two chief theories have hitherto been proposed: (1) that this power was not acquired at all, but was of native origin, and inhered in the Old English verbal noun from the outset, a theory stoutly advocated, as we shall discover, by Professor Curme; and (2) that this power was of foreign (chiefly French) origin, as strongly urged by Dr. Eienkel.

Concerning the inherently native origin of this power of the English verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) to govern an accusative object, Professor Curme thus expresses himself: "We see in the entire history of the English gerund only the natural display of pure English forces and cannot discover any foreign forces that have permanently affected English at this point."³ For this view Dr. Curme offers several reasons.

A chief ground for his theory, according to Dr. Curme,⁴ is the not infrequent occurrence in Old English of compounds made up of a noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) joined with a preceding noun that logically seems an accusative object but whose case is indeterminable, as in *blod-spiwung*, *bec-ræding*, etc. Possibly the occurrence of such compounds may have contributed somewhat to the development of accusative regimen when the first noun

¹ 101, 23, "in gemoetinge folc in anness" = "in conveniendo populos in unum"; 118, 9, "in haldinge word ðin" = "in custodiendo sermones tuos," both cited in Curme², p. 491. Professor Curme states that he was indebted to the late Professor H. G. Shearin for these two examples.

² *Oldest English Texts* (London, 1885), p. 184.

³ See Curme², p. 496.

⁴ See Curme¹, p. 355.

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of the gerundial compound was separated from and put after the gerund in construction rather than in composition. But, since we rarely find in Old English such breaking-up¹ of the given gerundial compounds, especially with transposition of the noun, this factor must have been negligible in Old English, I think. For, as I have tried to show in my monographs, *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon* and *Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels*,² early Old English had numerous participial compounds like *dream-healdende*,³ *ealo-drincende*, etc., whose nominal element seemed to be an accusative object; but in early Old English the present participle almost never had an accusative object in construction except when it had a prototype, direct or indirect (usually the former), in the Latin original; and, as I have striven to show in the aforementioned monographs, in most of the Germanic languages the present participle originally had not the power of governing an object in construction unless it had a prototype in some foreign language (Latin or Greek). Professor Curme, while admitting that, in the gerundial compounds of the sort cited by him, the first element was perhaps originally an objective genitive to the form in *-ung* (*-ing*), thinks that to Ælfric the initial noun of the compound (or, to use Mr. Curme's expression, "group-word") seemed an accusative. In commenting on Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, II, 8,

¹ The cause of the dissolution of gerundial compounds is, according to Professor Curme (see Curme², pp. 354-355), to be found in a shifting of the group-stress from the initial element of the group to the final element. But Dr. Eienkel (see Eienkel¹, p. 385) pertinently asks why this group-stress should not have also caused the dissolution of verbal compounds other than those having a noun in *-ung* (*-ing*).

² Baltimore, 1901, pp. 307-314, and Baltimore, 1918, pp. 52-60, respectively.

³ Professor Klaeber, I am glad to note, in his "Studies in the Textual Interpretation of *Beowulf*," *Modern Philology*, III (1905-1906), 262, and in his edition of *Beowulf* (Boston, 1922), p. 295, approves the position taken by me in 1901 concerning such compounds as *dream-healdende*. On the nature of these compounds, see Theodor Storch, *Angelsächsische Nominalcomposita* (Strassburg, 1886), p. 25; Strong, Logeman, and Wheeler, *Introduction to the Study of the History of Language* (London, 1891), p. 334; and Hermann Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (4th ed.; Halle, 1909), p. 342.

100 (*hi sylfe to clænsunga*), Mr. Curme thus expresses himself: "Ælfric thus actually felt the first member of these old group-words as an accusative, as we here in this one example can see by the accusative form."¹ On the contrary, to the present writer it seems far more probable that to Ælfric, as a rule, the first element of these group-words seemed a genitive, and for this reason: We often find in Old English genitives governed by verbal nouns in *-ung* (*-ing*) in construction, as in *feos spilling*² (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 133, 11), and we very rarely find accusatives as objects of such nouns in construction, and, when we do, the accusatives are due, as in the example under discussion (a fact apparently unknown to Professor Curme), to Latin influence, as we shall see later. No little light is thrown on this contention of Dr. Curme, I think, by a fact like this: In Dr. F. Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1899, I, 282), in *I Cnut*, 2, 5, while the earlier MS (G) reads *in my[n]ster-clænsunge*, the later MS (A) reads *ðæs mynstres clænsunge*. To the author of the latter, it would appear, the regimen in the compound seemed nominal (genitival), not verbal (accusativ).

A second factor in the native development of the governing power by the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), according to Professor Curme,³ is to be found in the sloughing-off of the genitival end-

¹ See Curme², p. 495.

² Cf. the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 233, 9: *butan . . . feoh-spillinge*, in which *feoh-*, the base, may stand for a genitive or for an accusative, since we find that the unmodified basic form can logically represent any case in compounds. Cf. Professor Klaeber's definition of *hord-weorðung*, in *Beowulf*, l. 952, as 'honoring with gifts.' See also Dr. Bernhard Fehr's review of Einkenel's *Geschichte der englischen Sprache*, II (in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXXXVI [1917], 307-315); in which (p. 311) he considers somewhat more favorably than I have been able to do Dr. Curme's theory as to Old English gerundial compounds, and cites from the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, Vol. IX, this example (before 1050), which he seems to think illustrates an incipient syntactical shifting: "to ðam fant halgunge" = 'ad fontem benedicendum.' However, I should write *fant-halgunge* as a compound, on the same footing as *feoh-spillinge*.

³ See Curme², p. 363.

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ing of the modifying noun in the transitional period between Old English and Middle English, especially in the Northern dialect. This loss of the genitive ending, which would tend to transform the (probably) original nominal regimen into verbal regimen, is exemplified, Professor Curme thinks,¹ in this passage from the *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton MS), lines 2395-97:

Bot son quen he had seised ðe land,
ðat in ðan fel a hunger strang,
Thoru corn wanting or thoru were.²

Once more, Professor Curme attaches great weight to the fact that he has found some clear examples of a verbal noun governing an accusative in Old English, some of which I have already cited (those in the *Vespasian Psalter*) and most of which, he tells us,³ occur in Ælfric. However, he quotes from Ælfric but one or two clear examples of a noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) governing an accusative in construction, most of his alleged examples of an accusative-governing gerund occurring in compounds. If the examples not cited by him should be like the one on which he banks most, namely, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, II, 8, 100, his examples will prove of little weight, for, as we shall see, the accusative regimen in this instance is due to the influence of the Latin original. But, even if we should grant that the idiom of a gerund governing an accusative in construction had, as claimed by Professor Curme,⁴ been thoroughly established by Ælfric's day, that would not warrant the deduction apparently drawn by Mr. Curme, namely, that, therefore, this construction was native to Old English.

Finally, I have myself come upon some possible, if not probable, examples of the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) governing an object in Ælfric that have not been cited by Professor Curme,

¹ See Curme², p. 363.

² This example is cited also by Dr. van Langenhove, *op. cit.*, p. 130. To me, however, *corn wanting* here seems a compound of the type seen in *feoh-spilling*.

³ See Curme², p. 492.

⁴ See Curme², p. 495.

and that may have contributed something toward the native development of the accusative-governing power. The examples are as follows: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints* (Skeat's ed.), I, 264, 39, "nu do we ðis lytle on ures lenctenes anginne, ðæt we streowiað axan uppan ure heafda to *geswutelunge* ðæt we sculon ure synna behreowsian on ure lencten-licum fæstene"; *ibid.*, 534, 759, "ða decius se casere het ðæt scræf forwyrcean swa we ær beforan rehton, ðæt ða insægla wæron eft to *swutelunge* hwæt man ðærinne funde ðonne se tima gewurðe eallswa god wolde"; *ibid.*, II, 326, 180, "his swura wæs gehalod ðe ær wæs forslagen, and wæs swylce an seolcen ðræd embe his swuran ræd mannum to *sweotelunge* hu he ofslægen wæs." Here the regimen could have been conceived of as nominal or as verbal. At first it was probably considered nominal, and the substantival clause was in apposition to the verbal noun. In such sentences, however, a shift from nominal to verbal regimen would be easy, perhaps even natural.

Despite these arguments for the native development of the accusative-governing power in the English gerund, however, they are not to me convincing. Let us consider, then, the theory that this power was derived from the influence of a foreign language.

As was incidentally stated at the beginning of this article, Dr. Einkenkel holds that the English gerund "originated through Anglo-Norman influence on the present participle, whose original suffix in *-ende* (later *-inde*) was changed into *-ing(e)* first of all in some Southern dialects . . . and then from there gradually spread over the Midlands to the North."¹ In the articles just cited, Dr. Einkenkel gives not a few examples of Anglo-Norman influence upon the construction of the English verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*); and I think that the fact that, in the French originals of many Middle English works, the form in

¹ Lang., p. vii; Einkenkel², pp. 19-22, 27-28, etc.; and Einkenkel⁴, pp. 499-504.

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-ant, which in function corresponded to the English form in *-ing*, had both nominal and verbal regimen at one and the same time, was a significant factor, not, as Dr. Eienkel holds, in the origin of the English gerund, but in the extension of that construction. The idiom had, I think, appeared in English earlier than the Norman Conquest, thus before Anglo-Norman influence upon the English language was possible, for examples are cited by Dr. Eienkel¹ and by Dr. Curme² from the *Vespasian Psalter* (first half of the ninth century). If the accusative-governing power was not inherent in the English verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) and was not derived from the Anglo-Norman influence, whence did it spring?

The acquisition of the accusative-governing power by the English verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) is primarily due, I think, to Latin influence, and for several reasons.

In the earliest and in most of the clearest Old English examples of a gerund governing an accusative object (at least, those so far cited by writers on the gerund), the verbal rection, it seems to me, is patently due to the influence of the Latin original, usually a gerund or a gerundive, occasionally an infinitive, a participle, or a finite verb. The Latin gerund is responsible for the verbal rection of the Old English noun in *-ung* in the following examples quoted from the *Vespasian Psalter* by Professor Curme, 101, 23, "in gemoetinge folc in annesse" = "in *conveniēdo populos in unum*"; *ibid.*, 118, 9, "in haldinge word ðin" = "in *custodiēdo sermones tuos*."³ And a Latin infinitive, not observed by Professor Curme or by Dr. Eienkel, accounts for the verbal rection of the noun in *-ung* in the following example from Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (Skeat's ed.), II, 8, 100, on which Professor Curme leans so heavily: "ða æfter ðysum genealæhte seo tid ðæs halgan lencten-fæstenes ðe eallum cristenum mannum geset is to mærsigenne, and *hi sylfe* to

¹ See Eienkel⁶, p. 275.

² See Curme², p. 491.

³ See Curme², p. 491.

clænsunga for *wurðunga* ðære godcundan ðrowunga and his æristes.”¹ For Professor Skeat tells us that the source of this Old English homily on “The Death of St. Mary of Egypt” is the “*Vita Sanctæ Mariæ Ægyptiacæ*”; and, on looking up the latter, we read, *Transactis autem aliquot diebus, appropinquavit tempus, quando sacra jejunia Christianis traditum est celebrare, et purificare seipsos ob divinæ passionis diem resurrectionisque salutationem.*² In the light of this Latin passage, the suggestion of Dr. Eienkel³ that Ælfric here wrote originally *him sylfum*, which became corrupted into the accusative by the mediation of *hī* for *him*, after which *sylfum* was changed to *sylfe* to conform to *hi*, seems as unnecessary as it is clever. And Professor Curme’s comment on this example seems by no means warranted:

Ælfric thus actually felt the first member of these old group-words as an accusative, as we can here in this one example see by the accusative form. This example and the peculiar form and the frequent use of the gerund in Ælfric’s language brings the conviction to the writer that the construction had already become thoroughly established in English.⁴

On the contrary, I quite agree with Dr. Eienkel, who, although he did not discover the Latin original of this passage, suspected Latin influence, and declared, “Auf jeden Fall ist *hi sylfe to clænsunga* ein ganz barbarisches Altenglisch.”⁵ A sufficient basis for my own belief is this fact: While the Old English noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) often has a genitive object (as in *feos spilling* above quoted), and occasionally has a dative personal object (as in Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, I, 220, 17: “Nu wylle we eow secgan sume petres wundra, him to wurðmynte

¹ See Curme², p. 495.

² The Latin version may be found in J. P. Migne’s *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, “Series Latina,” LXXIII (Paris, 1879), 675. In his Introduction to this Old English homily, Professor Skeat contends, chiefly on stylistic grounds, that it is not by Ælfric. Professor Curme, let me add, states that he is indebted for this Ælfrician example to the late Professor H. G. Shearin.

³ See Eienkel⁴, p. 499.

⁴ See Curme², p. 495.

⁵ See Eienkel⁴, p. 499.

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and *eow to trymmincge*"), it very rarely has an accusative object in construction, and, as far as my observation goes, the accusative regimen is almost invariably due to foreign (Latin) influence. Dr. Einkenkel,¹ it should be added, while admitting the occurrence in Old English of sporadic examples of a noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) with an accusative object and ascribing them rightly to Latin influence, holds that the number of such examples is so small as to be negligible, and that it is not allowable to consider that this idiom existed in the Old English period, a view that seems to me, with all respect to this great scholar, too strict. This view, however, is not so far wrong, I think, as that of the other great writer on the English gerund, Professor Curme, who, in commenting on the two examples from the *Vespasian Psalter*, while rightly contending for the existence of an accusative-governing gerund in the Old English period, unwisely holds that the idiom is of native English origin. He says:

As the English here follows the Latin so closely some scholars regard such examples as meaningless, but to the writer they are fraught with meaning and speak eloquently of the bright future that awaits the gerund. There was such strong verbal force in this English form that it responded to the foreign construction.²

Later, Professor Curme speaks more patly:

We see in the entire history of the English gerund only the natural display of pure English forces and cannot discover any foreign forces that have permanently affected English at this point. . . . Even where a foreign influence is at work the native idiom has something in it which corresponds to the foreign construction. Even here the native idiom *develops* rather than it *borrow*s.³

Another example of an accusative-governing noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) in which the accusative regimen is due to Latin influence is the following: Eadwine's *Canterbury Psalter*, page 10, "On *gecyrringe mine fiend*"⁴ = "In *convertendo inimicum meum*."

¹ See Einkenkel², pp. 13-14, 32, and Einkenkel⁴, p. 499.

² See Curme², p. 491.

³ See Curme², p. 496.

⁴ Cited by Einkenkel², p. 63.

More than this, in not a few examples of a Latin gerund governing an accusative object in the Latin originals of the Ælfredian works, the Old English translator uses a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) in some construction other than with an accusative, or avoids the verbal noun altogether. Note the following examples: Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (Sweet's ed.), 99, 3, "mid ðære *gewilnunge* ðara ungesewenlicra ðinga" = 68, 1, '*invisibilia appetendo*';¹ *ibid.*, 101, 7a, b, "Ne cuæð he ðæt forðyðe he wolde his treowa & his geleafan forlætan suæ suæ hie, ac he wolde ætiewan his arfæsðnesse" = 68, 27a, b, 'Quod videlicet exhibebat non *amittendo fidem*, sed *extendendo pietatem*.'

Again, in rendering the gerundival constructions of the Latin which in Modern English are translated by a gerund with an accusative object, the Old English translator uses a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), but without an accusative object. Consider the following examples: *Orosius* (Sweet's ed.), 138, 8, "on Umbre sendon an *hergiunge*, 7 ðæt folc to amierrenne" = 'quibusdam suis ad *populandos* hostiles *agros* in Umbriam Etruriamque præmissis'; Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Miller's ed.), 400, 27, "Ða gelomp . . . ðære synne to *witnunge* minre unhersumnesse" = 290, 17, 'ad *puniendam* inoboedientiae meae *culpam*';² *ibid.*, 410, 28, "from *gearwunge* ðæs siðfætes" = 297, 24, 'a *praeparando itinere*.'

Consider, further, this fact, that, of the over eight hundred examples of the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) as cited by Wülffing,³ not one has an accusative object in construction. I have myself looked up every occurrence of each noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) listed in W. J. Sedgefield's Glossary to his *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Oxford, 1899),

¹ The Latin is quoted from H. R. Bramley's version of the *Cura Pastoralis* (Oxford, 1874).

² The Latin is quoted from C. Plummer's edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1896).

³ In his *Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen*, II (Bonn, 1897), 233-250.

but have found no instance of accusative regimen by the noun in *-ung* (*-ing*). Nor have I found a clear example of a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) governing an accusative object in construction in *Beowulf* or in the more original Old English prose (the *Chronicle* and *Wulfstan*).

Lastly, we find, at the outset, substantially the same state of affairs in the Germanic languages as a whole. As stated above, in the Germanic languages originally the present participle had not the power of governing an object in construction, this idiom occurring, as a rule, only when translating an accusative-governing word in the foreign original (Greek or Latin). As to the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), according to Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, Volume II (Strassburg, 1896), § 281, this formation is not found in Gothic. Dr. E. H. Sehart's *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zum Heliand und zur altsächsischen Genesis*¹ records no example of a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*). In Old High German poetry, nouns in *-unga* are rare. According to Wilmanns,² only four examples occur in Otfrid (*manunga*, *murmulunga*, *samanunga*, *zeichenunga*). Such nouns are not infrequent in the Old High German learned prose according to Wilmanns (*loc. cit.*). But nouns in *-unga* (*-inga*) having an accusative object must be rare in High German, as the revised (1898) edition of Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*³ gives only one example thereof: *Alpinus Dictys*, 11b, "von *anlaufunge* die *feinden*"; while the German grammars by Erdmann-Mensing (1898), Wilmanns (1909), Paul (1920), Behaghel (1923), and Wunderlich-Reis (1925), give no example of a noun in *-ung* governing an accusative object. And I have found none in Tatian, although he uses twenty-five different nouns in *-unga*.

Moreover, the same avoidance of the Latin accusative object

¹ Göttingen and Baltimore, 1925.

² *Deutsche Grammatik*, II (Strassburg, 1896), § 282.

³ IV, 911.

of a gerund as was found in the Old English Alfred is found in the Old High German *Isidor*,¹ 13, 23, "*dicendo enim Christum, dei Iacob, et filium et patrem ostendit*" = 'dhar ir quhad "*Christ Jacobes gotes,*" chiuuissio meinida ir dhar sunu endi fater.'

Again, the Old High German translation of the Latin gerundive is quite similar to the Old English rendition thereof as given on page 44 above. Consider the following sentence from the Old High German *Isidor* (Rannow, *op. cit.*, p. 109), 29, 18, "*ad significandum illum verum Ihesum*" = 'in *bauhnungum dhes chiuuarin Ihesuses,*' in which *significandum* may be construed as either a gerund or a gerundive; and this from Notker,² 782, 14, "*Si insaz iro forhteliu; so si baldo mahta zelidenne an iro noh tanne todigen liden . . . diu sinwelben himelfiur*" = '*perferendos globos . . . formidat.*'

Until a much fuller (if not complete) collection of the instances of nouns in *-ung* (*-ing*) with verbal regimen in Old English and in early Middle English shall have been made, no final conclusion can be reached as to the acquisition of verbal regimen by the noun in *-ung* (*-ing*). It is believed, however, that the foregoing considerations make highly probable some such conclusion as this. The English noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) originally had nominal regimen only. Verbal regimen in construction does not occur in *Beowulf* or in the more original Anglo-Saxon prose (the *Chronicle* and *Wulfstan*), is very rare in early Old English prose, and is there suggested by the Latin original; it is infrequent in late West Saxon, few genuine examples occurring even in Ælfric. Native factors in the extension, not, as Professor Curme holds, in the origin, of this verbal regimen may have been the occurrence of Old English gerundial com-

¹ See Max Rannow, *Der Satzbau des althochdeutschen Isidor im Verhältniss zur lateinischen Vorlage* (Berlin, 1888), p. 109.

² See Willy Manthey, *Syntaktische Beobachtungen an Notkers Übersetzung des Martianus Capella* (Berlin, 1903), p. 39.

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pounds with a noun in an indeterminate case (though for reasons already stated by me this influence seems slight), and the loss of genitival endings of nouns preceding a noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), especially in Northern English. And the occurrence of substantival clauses apparently appositive to a verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), as in the examples above cited by me from Ælfric, may have tended to extend the use of the accusative-governing gerund,—a construction that had earlier been borrowed from the Latin. The acquisition of verbal regimen by the Old English present participle, a power likewise derived from the Latin, would tend to extend that regimen to the verbal noun in *-ing* in Middle English times, when *-ing* had become the regular ending for both present participle and verbal noun. The extension of the verbal regimen of the noun in *-ung* (*-ing*), again, was accelerated by the confusion of forms so ably treated by Dr. van Langenhove. Finally, a foreign factor of great weight in the extension of the governing power of the gerund in Middle English times was the influence of the French gerundial-participial constructions, as brilliantly demonstrated by Dr. Einkenkel.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the mailing of the manuscript of the foregoing article to the editors of the *Klaeber Miscellany*, two articles concerning the English gerund have appeared that call for brief notice at my hands. These are (1) "The Gerund Preceded by the Common Case," in *English Studies*, X (1928, April and June), pp. 33-41, 65-76, by Dr. W. van der Gaaf; and (2) "A Review of Dr. van Langenhove's *On the Origin of the Gerund in English*," in the *Philological Quarterly*, VII (April, 1928), pp. 203-204, by the present writer.

As its title would suggest, the former article has little to say concerning the ultimate origin of the gerund in English. Nevertheless, it gives some interesting examples of the Old English verbal noun in *-ung* with modifiers (chiefly genitival), which locutions Dr. van der Gaaf, as a rule, rightly considers to be compounds. Among the examples cited (on p. 40) are

two from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (999, *feos spilling*, and 1096, *feoh-spillinge*) that I had previously used in the foregoing essay. An interesting parallel to these two examples from the *Chronicle* is quoted (on p. 38) from Gregory's *Dialogue* (250, 27, *mid ðære cyllfyllinge*, for which MS O reads *mid ðare cyllan fyllinge*). In the Ælfrician phrase, *ðurh his broður hatunge*,¹ Dr. van der Gaaf considers *broður* an accusative, saying (on p. 38): "As this is a commentary on the text *Qui odit fratrem suum homicida est*, there is every reason to assume that *broður* is an accusative, and that *his* does not qualify *hatunge*, but *broður*; so that we here have the exact prototype of the construction that is so frequently met with in Middle and early Modern English." I do not myself see why *broður* may not here be considered a genitive, especially in view of its pre-position; but, if an accusative, I agree with Dr. van der Gaaf that the Old English accusative would be due to the influence of the Latin accusative-governing verb (*odit*), additional evidence tending to support a main thesis of my essay. Moreover, Dr. van der Gaaf (*op. cit.*, p. 41) holds that inversion of the word-order in such groups, that is, putting the objective noun after instead of before the governing noun in *-ung*, began in the fourteenth century,—a circumstance that would militate against the theory that, in the early Old English *ung*-compounds with prepositive object, the object is an accusative. Dr. van der Gaaf's article, however, deals primarily with the history of the gerund in Middle English and Modern English times, and gives a searching discussion of Professor Otto Jespersen's article, "On Ing,"² which treats of the gerund preceded by an uninflected noun in Modern English, a topic with which we are not at present concerned.

¹ Quoted from Brotanek's *Texte und Untersuchungen zur altenglischen Literatur und Kirchengeschichte* (Halle, 1913), p. 23, ll. 4 ff.

² In the Society for Pure English, *Tract No. XXV* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 147-172.

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In the second article named at the beginning of this post-script, I expressed my admiration for Dr. van Langenhove's monograph, pointed out some omissions in his Bibliography, and promised a somewhat detailed consideration of the origin of the English gerund in a separate article. That promise I have attempted to fulfil in the present essay.

SEMANTIC BORROWING IN OLD ENGLISH

⊙

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In a discussion of the application of analogy to development of meaning¹ the present writer called attention to a type of analogy of synonyms. He pointed out that words in one dialect often develop new meanings because they become associated with synonymous words that have already developed semantically in a different direction and so take over these new meanings analogically. Another form of semantic analogy psychologically identical with this is that in which the synonym belongs to a different dialect or to a foreign language. This type we may call "semantic borrowing." In the latter case the native word becomes associated more or less closely with the foreign synonym and is used either to translate it or is influenced by it semantically. This semantic development is as old as language itself and can be illustrated by examples from all the Indo-European languages as far back as they can be traced historically.

Whenever, in the past, two peoples became closely associated, whether through conquest of one by the other or through friendly intercourse, there was an influx of new ideas, usually from the more highly developed to the less. This influence of one culture upon another was at once reflected in the language. Where a new idea or name for an object in the one language was transferred to the other it was accomplished in one of two ways: either the word designating this idea was taken over in its entirety in the form of a loan-word, or the new idea was expressed

¹ "Analogy as a Factor in Semantic Change," *Language*, II, 35-45.

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in terms of the native language, thus modifying the meaning of the native word or bringing about the formation of a new native compound word with a new meaning; that is, a semantic borrowing. Both processes were of equal frequency, any difference probably favoring the semantic borrowing. Loan-words, however, being concrete and easily traceable, have received by far the larger share of the attention of linguists; in fact, loan-word dictionaries abound in almost all the modern languages. Semantic borrowings or loan-meanings, being less tangible and much more difficult to trace, have remained, except for a few studies, almost unnoticed.¹

Almost all the older Germanic literature extant is the product of bilinguals, of individuals from Ulfilas down, who spoke, wrote, or understood Latin or Greek as well as, in fact, in many cases even better than, their own Germanic dialect. Much of their literature consists of translations from these foreign languages into the various Germanic idioms. In translat-

¹ These studies are: Singer, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, III, 220 ff.; IV, 125 ff.; "Aufsätze und Vorträge," *Die deutsche Kultur im Spiegel des Bedeutungslehnewortes* (Tübingen, 1912), pp. 104 ff.; by Singer's pupil, H. Marti, a dissertation entitled *Beiträge zu einem vergleichenden Wörterbuch der deutschen Rechtssprache* (Bern, 1921); Fr. Mauthner, *Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1923). Especially the Introduction to the last-named work, while somewhat bold in asserting unproved facts, is nevertheless very illuminating. And Sandfeld Jensen, "Notes sur les calques linguistiques," *Festschrift für V. Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 166 ff.

A most helpful discussion of semantic borrowing is found in chap. iv of Wellander's *Studien zum Bedeutungswandel im Deutschen*, I, "Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift," for 1917. The present writer, however, cannot agree with Wellander's contention (*op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff.) that loan-meanings are almost never found in simple stems. Wellander would, therefore, deny the validity of the term as applied to Group II below, explaining the change of meaning either on the ground of ellipsis (i.e., an original compound form with one element omitted), or he would regard the semantic changes here as *translation-meanings*, not *loan-meanings*. This seems a rather meticulous differentiation and cannot affect the writer's contention that they are still meanings derived through analogy.

With the exception of Mauthner's these studies confine themselves almost entirely to the modern languages.

Short discussions are found also in the later volumes of Seiler, *Die deutsche Kultur im Spiegel des Lehnwortes*, and Waag, *Die Bedeutungsentwicklung unseres Wortschatzes*³.

ing from a highly developed language like Latin into the crude and comparatively undeveloped Germanic dialects, the translator was often hard put to it to find in his dialect adequate expression for the ideas of the foreign tongue. If he borrowed the Latin term he was less likely to be understood; so he more often attempted to express the idea by using a native word or combination of words, at times in word-for-word translations, at other times more freely by native circumlocutions. These semantic borrowings represent largely ideas that had not previously found adequate expression in the native language, and this probably accounts for the large number of compounds in this type of words.

The adoption of Christianity by the Germanic peoples brought with it the dominance of Latin as the cultural language; consequently it is Latin, especially Medieval Latin, the language of Jerome and Augustine, that has contributed most largely to the semantic content of the Germanic languages. A number of studies on the influence of Christianity on these languages has been made, but they by no means exhaust the possibilities of the subject, since they confine themselves principally to the rather limited special vocabulary of Christian terminology.¹ One thing, however, is very clear from these studies, and that is that the Latin was a tremendous force in the modification of the Germanic languages. They show, furthermore, that while the number of loan-words taken up was very great, the modifica-

¹ The most important of these are: K. Weinhold, *Die gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums* (Halle, 1870); Raumer, *Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache* (Stuttgart, 1845); B. Kahle, *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*, I *Acta Germanica*, I, 4, and "Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung," *Arkiv f. nord. Fil.* (N.F.), XIII, 1-40; 97-160; H. S. MacGillivray, "The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of the Old English," *Englische Studien*, Vol. VIII; A. Keiser, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry*, "University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature," V, 1, 2; F. Klaeber, "Die christlichen Elemente im *Beowulf*," *Anglia*, Vols. XXXIV and XXXV. Cf. also F. Kluge, *Gotische Lehnworte im Althochdeutschen*, *Paul und Braune Beiträge*, XXXV, 124 ff.

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tion of the semantic content of the language by the introduction of new meanings for Germanic words was equally great, if not greater. But this influence was not confined to the strictly Christian *termini technici*. It permeated almost every phase of the life and culture of the people, as a study of the plant, animal, anatomical, medicinal, astronomical, mathematical, grammatical, etc., terms shows.¹

An examination of the older Germanic dialects reveals a striking similarity in the semantic loans of the different dialects, the correspondence between the OE and the OHG being especially close. This is to be accounted for partly by the uniformity of the Latin material common to both dialects, the Vulgate Bible, the sermons of St. Augustine, etc., and partly by the fact that English missionaries were responsible for the early Christianization of the High German peoples. A study of the OE and OHG glosses also shows a distinct influence of the former on the latter.²

The writer proposes, therefore, in the following study to use the OE as the basis for an investigation of semantic borrowing, to explain the types of the borrowing, and to show to what extent it was carried on. The investigation will be extensive rather than intensive since the material is taken almost alto-

¹ Cf. A. Schirmer, "Wortschatz der Mathematik," *Zeitschr. für deutsche Wortf.* (14. Beiheft). The works on special vocabularies in OE, of which there are a great number, recognize to some extent semantic borrowing. Of these the following have been useful: Hoops, *Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen* (Freiburg i. Br., 1889); Thöne, *Die Namen der menschlichen Körperteile bei den Angelsachsen* (Kiel, 1912); Geldner, *Untersuchung einiger altenglischen Krankheitsnamen* (Braunschweig, 1906); Brasch, *Die Namen der Werkzeuge im Altenglischen* (Leipzig, 1910). Cf. also the numerous studies on special vocabularies in *Anglistische Forschungen*.

² Cf. Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand*, *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, Heft 7; Chr. Leydecker, *Über Beziehungen zwischen ahd. und ags. Glossen* (Bonn, 1911).

Trautmann in the work quoted shows, or at least attempts to show, that the early OHG is largely translation from the OE. In a later work, *Der Heliand, eine Übersetzung aus dem Altenglischen*, *Bonner Beiträge*, Heft 17, he holds the same views about this OS poem.

gether from dictionaries, and cannot offer proof for each case. The belief in the wide prevalence of such semantic analogies rests not only on the fact that, with few exceptions, the OE and the corresponding Latin words are actually on record as having been associated with each other, but also on the large number of correspondences in meaning and form of the words. All this, together with the fact that similar analogies are taking place constantly in the experience of every person who uses two languages, will have to be accepted in lieu of proof, for proof, except in rare instances, it is impossible to give. The history of these analogical forms parallels that of any other words whether newly coined or borrowed, some of them catching the popular fancy and becoming widely used, others remaining restricted to a very small circle. It is even possible that some of the words listed below represent merely the momentary analogy of an individual translator recorded in one or another of the glosses, and that they, therefore, scarcely deserve the name of living words, since they may never have been used in actual speech; but their creation is exactly like that of words that have become well established and popular, and is for that reason, psychologically at least, just as important.

The material presented here is grouped in two main divisions. The first includes compounds that represent exact translations of corresponding Latin compounds, such as the well-known *gōdspell* (NE 'gospel') for *bonus nuntius*, itself a semantic borrowing from the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*, or *lācdād* for *munificentia*, where the idea, 'gift-making,' in the Latin is transferred to the OE. Here belong also a large number of stems with prefixes or suffixes corresponding to similar compounds in the Latin, such as *geladung* for *convocatio*, i.e., 'a calling together,' or *foreberan*, 'prefer,' for *praeferre*, etc. Then there are the words which represent an analogical transference of ideas but in which the exact correspondence between the two elements of the compound is not observed, as, for example, in *gebȳgednys*

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for *declinatio* or *gnidennys*, 'a rubbing, contrition,' for *contritio*. In some cases the translator, no doubt, experienced difficulty in transferring the idea; so he either disregarded one of the elements of the Latin entirely, as when he rendered *incarnatio* by *menniscnes* or *flascnes*, or he translated a single form in the Latin by a compound in the OE, e.g., *apostulus* by *ārendwreca*, 'errand doer,' or *humeralis* by *eaxlclāþ*. Semantically there is no difference between the two parts of the first group, since the analogical process is identical. It is more difficult, however, to identify words of the second type as analogical compounds because there is greater likelihood that they are native compounds that have been used to translate more or less accurately a similar idea in the Latin.

Whereas the first group consists of words formed principally through the process of translation, the second group represents a purer type of synonymic analogy, in which the analogical process affects the meaning only. A certain Germanic word becomes associated with a Latin synonym. This association brings about the adoption by the Germanic word of other meanings that the Latin synonym has developed, such as when *fæstnes*, 'firmness, stability,' takes on the meaning 'sky fixed above the earth' from *fīrmamentum*; or *ramm*, 'a ram,' comes to mean 'an instrument for butting' through the influence of the Lat. *aries*. It may be contended that such so-called analogies are really natural, spontaneous developments, and no one will deny that this is possible; but if we bear in mind that practically every writer of the older Germanic dialects already had at his command the semantic content of the Latin, that what he wrote was after all a book language rather than a popular language, the likelihood of the development's being spontaneous becomes almost negligible. Furthermore, natural development could not possibly account for all the remarkable coincidences where the semantic development in the two languages is out of the ordinary. Where both languages take an identical direction in the

development of meaning, analogy is much more likely than spontaneous development, in view both of their close association and of the great number of directions the semantic development might have taken. In the writer's opinion scholars have been too prone to see, especially in the older dialects, a natural semantic development where often there is only semantic borrowing from the more highly developed language. The validity of the semantic parallel as support or proof of a certain development of meaning is also seriously affected by the question of semantic borrowing. To cite, for example, a particular development of meaning in Latin in support of a semantic development in a Germanic dialect is without value unless it can be shown that there has been no semantic borrowing in the case in question.¹

GROUP I a

Of the compounds included in this group, by far the most numerous are those made up of a prefix plus a stem. Latin is very rich in compounds of this type, and OE, like all the Germanic dialects, has shown a similar tendency to compound forms. Their close association has, therefore, greatly stimulated the tendency to express a deviation from the fundamental meaning by use of the prefix. The large number of Latin prefixes and their often complex semantic development has led to a rather complicated overlapping of the OE prefixes for certain ideas. Doubtless also, writers were not always a unit in the use of a certain prefix for a particular meaning. The very strong tendency in OE to compound words would make it possible that many of these supposedly analogical forms are really

¹ The writer admits his own mistake in not being more discriminating in the use of semantic parallels. In both his studies, *The Semasiological Development for Words for 'think,' etc.* (Chicago, 1911), and *Words for 'deceive'* (Göttingen, 1923), he was at great pains to collect semantic parallels from Skt., Greek, and Lat., in support of his semantic groups. In some cases at least, these parallels are probably the result of semantic borrowing on the part of Germanic. Within the groups themselves semantic borrowing is more likely than separate spontaneous development.

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natural compounds. Then, too, when a prefix once came into use in a certain meaning, even if at first through semantic borrowing, it often became productive, i.e., it caused the formation of natural compounds after the same pattern. These might by a coincidence be exact parallels of the corresponding Latin forms and therefore not necessarily analogical. But we know of no way of distinguishing such words from the genuine analogical types, and so they are included in the list below.¹

OE *ā-* 'away from, out, up' translates Lat. *a-, ab-, de-, ex-* in:

ābarian 'make bare, strip; discover, disclose': *denudare id.*²

ābeþecian 'uncover; discover, disclose': *detegere*

āwyrp 'a castaway, a throwing away': *abjectus, abjectio*

āmōd 'out of his mind': *amens*

ǣ developed a negative force and translated Lat. *in-* in *ǣscære*: *intonsus*;

ǣnot: *inutilis*

āgnīdan: *defricare*

āhabban 'abstain, refrain': *abstinere*

āhēawan: *excidere*; *āhladan*: *exhaurire*; *āhnēapan*: *decerpere*

āhweorfan: *avertere*; *āhyldan* 'incline, recline; decline, turn away, avert from':

declinare, inclinare; *āloccian*: *allicere*; *ālyhtan*: *illuminare*; *āmānsumian*:

¹ Of the words in the following groups every one is a possible semantic borrowing. They range, on the one hand, from such very obvious borrowings as *ymsellan*: *circumdare*, where the idiom is without doubt Latin, to *ymbstandan*: *circumstare* where the question arises: How else could the OE have expressed so common an idea as 'stand around, surround'; *ymbstandan* must, therefore, be a native compound like OHG *umbistantan*, MHG *umbestanden*; but when one notices the obvious borrowing MHG *umbestant*, NHG *Umstand*: *circumstantia*, one wonders whether there is not after all a possible analogical influence. The following list may then include many native compounds, but the writer is unable to tell where to draw the line between native and borrowed forms.

² For lack of space, meanings of words are for the most part omitted, although the striking correspondences especially where the meanings in the two languages are figurative would have been interesting to record. Where meanings are recorded there is always a change from the fundamental meaning, the semantic development in the two languages taking the same direction. Although not quoted, the Latin meanings correspond in each case. In many cases Greek words are given, most of them being Latin loan-words, although a number are semantic borrowings by the Latin from the Greek. These are also very numerous but do not concern us here. Cf. Mauthner, *op. cit.*, Introd., pp. lvi ff.

excommunicare; cf. OHG *armeinsamōn*; ¹ *āmānsumung*: *excommunicatio*;
āmearcian 'mark out, describe, determine': *denotare, definire*; *āmetan*
 'measure out; allot, bestow': *emetri*; *ānȳdan*: *expellere, depellere*; *ārȳpan*:
evellere, abscondere; *āseacan*: *excutere*; *āscūfan*: *expellere*; *āscunian*: *evi-*
tare; *āseccan*: *edicere, effari*; *āslūpan*: *elabi*; *āspirian, āswapian* 'track,
 trace; investigate, examine': *investigare*; *āspyrigend*: *investigator*; *āstreccan*
 'stretch out, extend [of time]': *extendere*; *āstifician, āwurtwarian, āwyrta-*
lian; *eradicare, extirpare*; *ātȳnan*: *excludere*; *āþencan* 'think out, devise,
 invent': *excogitare*; *āþenian*: *extendere*; *āþēodan*: *disjungere*; *āþræstan*: *ex-*
torquere; *āweallian*: *ebullire*; *āwendan*: *avertere*; *āweorpan*: *ejicere*; *āwræstan,*
āwringan: *extorquere*

ælmihteg, ealcræftig, alwaldend: *omnipotens*

ærboren: *primogenitus*; *ærdæd, ærgedōn* 'former conduct; offense, demerit,
 vice': *anteactus*; *æronfōn* 'take up before; anticipate': *antecapere*

æt:-*ad*- *ætbēon, ætwezan*: *adesse*; *ætclifian*: *adhaerere*; *ætfelgan, ætfēolan, ætfyl-*
gian: *adhaerere*; *ætflōwan*: *affluere*; *ætgebengan*: *adducere*; *ætsittan*: *adsidere*
æt:-, *op*:-*ab*-, *ex*-, *ob*- 'away' *ætslīdan*: *elabi*; *opspurnan*: *offendere*; *opspyrning,*
ætspyrnung: *offendiculum*; *opswerian, ætswerian*: *abjurare*; *opþēodan*: *dis-*
jungere; *ætwezan*: *aufferre*; *ætwenian*: *ablactare*

āgennama: *nomen proprium*

ānboren, āncenned: *unigenitus*; *ānēage*: *monoculus, monophthalmus, μονόφθαλμος*;
ānfeald: *simplex*; *ānfealdnes*: *simplicitas*; *ānfēte*: *monopodius, μονοπόδιος*;
ānleger: *unicubus*; *ānlēpnes*: *solitudo*; *ānlēpe*: *solivagus*; *ānmōd*: *unanimis*;
ānmōdnes: *unanimitas*; *ānnes*: *unitas*; *ānweald*: *monarchia, μοναρχία*

angbrēost: *angina pectoris*

atterberende: *venenifer* (cf. *attorlade*: *venenifuga*); *cāgbora*: *claviger*; *cornbære*:
graniger; *cwealmbære*: *mortiferus*; *cwiltbære*: *pestiferus*; *dēadbære*: *morti-*
ferus, letheferus; *feðerberende*: *penniger*; *fȳrbær*: *igniferus*; *gārberend*:
hastifer, telefer; *hornbære*: *corniger*; *lēohberende*: *lucifer*; *rōdbora*: *crucifer*;
segnbora, tācnbora: *signifer*; *slāpbær*: *somniferus*; *wāpenbora*: *armiger*;
wōlberende: *pestiferus*

¹ Occasionally parallel loan-meanings are given for the OHG and Goth., but no attempt at including all the correspondences could be made. Where the Goth. shows corresponding forms they may be borrowings from the Greek and still represent parallels to the Latin forms. Especially in the compounds with prefixes the Greek undoubtedly influenced the Latin profoundly just as the Latin in turn influenced the OE. It might be contended that where there are Goth. parallels the OE could not represent a semantic borrowing from the Latin. According to Kluge (*PBB*, 35), these might be loan-words from the Goth. But even if we accept this explanation, they may still represent originally analogical formations.

SEMANTIC BORROWING

bærfōt: *nudipes*

balocraeft: *ars perniciosa*; *bealodǣd*: *maleficium*, OHG *palotāt*

be-: *in-* *bebindan*: *inligare*; *bedrincan*: *imbibere*; *befāstan*: *infigere*; *befealdan*: *implicare*; *befēolan*: *inhaerere*; *begalan*: *incantare*; *begēotan*: *infundere*; *beginnan*: *incipere*; *begrynian*: *illaqueare*; *behlēapan*: *insilire*; *beirnan*: *incurrere*; *bewritan*: *inscribere*

be-: *circum-* *befēran*, *begangan*: *circumire*; *beflēogan*: *circumvolare*; *behegian*: *circumsepire*; *behōn*: *circumpendere*; *belācan*: *circumfluere*; *bescēawian* 'look around upon, look on; consider, regard': *circumspicere*; *besellan*: *circumdare*; *besēon*: *circumspicere*; *bestandan*: *circumstare*; *betēon*: *circumducere*

be-: *de-*, *ab-*, *ex-* *bedālan*: *descindere*; *benacian*: *denudare*; *benāman*: *auffere*; *berēafian*: *eripere*; *berindan*: *decorticare*; *bescrēadian*: *descindere*; *beswician*: *evadere*; *behēafdian*: *decapitare*; *besylfred*: *deargentatus*; *beforangesstihtende*: *praedestinatus*

bīsa we, *bī word*: *proverbium*, 'adverb': *adverbium*; *bī nama*: *pronomen*; *big sittan*: *adsidere*; *bī tale*, *big spell*: *parabola*, *παράβολή*; *big standan* 'support': *adstare*
betwux āworpenmys: *interjectio*; *betwux ālegednes*: *interjectio*; *betwuh geset*: *interpositus*; *betwux sendan*: *intermittere*

blind þearm: *caecum colon*

bleofāg: *versicolor*

brēosthord: *pectoris thesaurus*; *brēosthyge*: *pectoris cogitatio*; *brēostloca*: *pectoris clausura*; *brēostbān*: *pectoris os*

brondhord: *ardens thesaurus*

cwicseolfor: *vivum argentum*

cynrecen: *genealogia*, *γενεαλογία*

dægtīd: *diei tempus*; *dægtīma*: *diurnum tempus*; *dōmdæg*: *dies iudicii*

dǣlnimend: *particeps*

dēapscuwa: *mortis umbra*

earscryfel, *earclānsend*: (*digitus*) *auriculus*

earmheort: *misericors* (Goth. loan-word? cf. Kluge, *PBBeitr.*, XXXV, 148);

Goth. *armahairts*, OHG *armherz*; *earmian*: *misereri*

ædascaft: *regeneratio*; *edcennig*: *id.*; *edcer*: *reditus*; *edcēlnes*: *edcwician*: *reviviscere*; *edgifan*: *reddere*; *edgeong*: *rejuvenescens*; *edgyldend*: *remunerator*; *edlācan*: *repetere*; *edlēanan*: *retribuere*; *ednīwian*: *renovare*; *edstapelian*: *restibire*; *edwendan*: *reverti*; *edwītan*: *reprobare*

ebalsan (*ebul*+*secgan*?) : *blasphemare*

efen-: *con-*, *co-*, *equi-* *efenbisceop*: *coepiscopus*; *efenblissian*: *congratulari*; *efenceasterwearan*: *concives*; *efencuman* 'convene, assemble together; agree': *convenire*; *efeneald*: *coaevus*; *efenēce*: *coaeternus*; *efeneardigende*: *cohabitans*;

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- efenwistlic*: consubstantialis; *efengecigan*: convocare; *efengellic*: coequalis; *efenniht*: equinoctium; *efengefeon*: congaudere; *efenherian*: collaudare; *efenmetan*: comparare; *efensārig*: compassus; *emnsārian*: condolere; *emnsceolere*: condiscipulus; *efenspēdiglic*: consubstantialis; *efenþēowa*: conservus; *efenþrōwian*: compatiari; *efenweorcan*: cooperari; *efenweorþ*: aequivalens; *efenwesende*: coexistens; *efenwiht*: aequipondium
- eft-*: *re-* *eftcerran*: revertere; *eftforfundeno*: reprehensores; *eftgearnung*: remuneratio; *eftgecigan*: revocare; *esthweorfan*: revertere; *eftlēsing*: redemptio; *eftongēnbigan*: retorquere; *estoncnāwan*: rescire; *eftsittan* 'sit again; reside': residere; *eftþingung*: reconciliatio
- eorþbigenga*, *eorþbüend*, *eorþwaru*: terricola (cf. *heofonwaru*: caelicola); *eorþge-met*: geometria, γεωμετρία; *eorþtilþ*: agricultura
- felafeald*: multiplex; *felaścne*: multitudosus
- fifecgede*: quinquangulus; *fiffeald*: quintuplex; *fiftēne*: quindecim
- fore-*, *for-*: *prae-* *foreætýwian*: praemonstrare; *foreāþ*: praejuramentum; *forebēon*: praeesse; *foreberan*: praeferre; *forboda*: praenuntius; *foreceorfan*: praecidere; *forecweþan*: praedicere (Goth. *fauraqipan*); *forfaran*: praecire; *forcuman*: praevenire; *foregangan*, *forgān*: praecedere; *foregesettan*: praepondere 'set before; propose'; *foresetnes*: praepositio; *forgrīpan*: praecipere; *foremanian*: praemonere; *foremeahtig*: praepotens; *foremearcod*: praenotatus; *forriðan*: praeequitare; *forriðel*, *forerynel*: praecursor; *forescēawian*, *fore-sēon* 'foresee; provide': praevidere, providere; *foresecgan*: praedicere, praedicare, pronuntiare; *foresendan*: praemittere; *foresingend*: praecantor; *foresittan*: praesidere; *foresittend*: praesidens; *foresteppan*: praegredi, praevenire; *forestandan*: praestare; *forestihlod*: praedestinatus; *foretēþ*: praecisores; *foretācen*: praesagium; *foreþencan*: praecogitare, praemeditari; *foreweard*: praecautio; *forewitan*: praescire; *foryrnan*: praecurrere
- for-*: *pro-* *foreafterfylging*: prosecutio; *forebodian*: pronuntiare; *forebrāðan*: prolongare; *foreclyppian*: proclamare; *forglēawnes*: providentia; *forhabban*: prohibere; *forenama*: pronomen; *fornefe*: proneptis; *foreondeta*: profiteri; *forescēawung*: providentia; *forscrifan*: proscribere; *forsēones*: providentia; *foresprega*: prolocutor; *foretrymna*: protestari; *forweorpan*: projicere; *forewritan*: proscribere
- for-*: *per-* *forcyrran*: pervertere; *forfaran*: perire; *forgedōn*: perdere; *forgifan*: perdonare (DuCange); *forhwerfan*: pervertere; *forlātan*: permittere; *forsīþian*: perire; *forsweltan*: permori; *forswerian*: perjurare
- fore-*: *ante-* *forefōn*: anticipare; *foreswerian*: antejurare; *forwyrd*: antefactum
- forgān* 'pass over; neglect': praeterire, Goth. *faurgaggan*
- for-*: *de-* *forbūgan*: declinare; *forbūgennys*: declinatio

SEMANTIC BORROWING

for-:con- *forgnidennys*:*contritio*; *forgnīdan*:*conterere*; *forgrindan*:*commolere*;
formengan:*conjungere*

fræ-:*prae-* 'very' *fræbeorht*:*praeclarus*; *fræmære*:*id.*; *fræfætt*:*praeinguis*; *fræmicel*:*praemagnus*; *fræofestlice*:*praepropere*

for-:*prae-*, *per-* 'very' *formære*:*praeclarus*; *forēape*:*perfacile*; *forheard*:*prae-durus*

forþ-:*pro-**forþāsliden*:*prolapsus*; *forþātēon*:*producere*; *forþberan*:*proferre*; *forþbesēon*:*prospicere*; *forþcuman*:*procedere*; *forþbrengan*:*producere*; *forþclypian*:*provocare*; *forþcýþan*:*pronuntiare*; *forþgān*:*procedere*; *forþgesēon*:*providere*; *forþgesteppan*:*progredi*; *forþlōcian*:*prospicere*; *forþlūtan*:*procidere*; *forþsendan*:*prodire*; *forþyppan* 'make known, publish, declare':*prodere*

fram-:*ab-*, *de-*, *ex-* *framcerran*:*avertere*; *framātēon*:*abstrahere*; *framāwenden*:*avertere*; *frambūgan*:*deflectere*; *framstēon*:*aufugere*; *framgewītan*:*discedere*; *framsīþian*:*abscedere*; *framstandan*:*abstare*; *framswengan*:*excutere*; *framweard*:*aversus*

frīgedæg:*dies Veneris*

frumbearn, *frumcenned*:*primogenitus*; *frumgār*:*primipilus*

fyðerdæled:*quadripartitus*; *fyðerfēte*:*quadrupes*; *fyðerhīwe*:*quadriformis*; *feorþrice*:*tetrarchia*, τετραρχία; *fyðerscýte*:*quadrangulus*

fullmōna:*plenilunium*

ge-:con- *gebrytan*:*confringere*; *gecerring*:*conversio*; *gecyrran*:*convertere*, cf. ἐπιτροπεύειν; *gecnāwe*:*cognoscens*, *conscious*; *gecosped*:*compeditus*; *gefe-terian*:*compedire*; *gefōtcypsed*:*compeditus*; *gefæðera*:*compater* (NHG *Ge-vatter*); *gefēgan*:*conjungere*; *gefēr*, *gefērsceipe*:*comitatus*; *gefillan*:*complere*; *geforword*:*compactus*; *gegaderian*:*colligere*; *gegaderung*:*congregatio*; *gegrindan*:*commolere*; *gehæftnan*:*comprehendere*; *gehāligian*:*consecrare*; *gehēapod*:*coacervatus*; *gehēaw*:*concussio*; *gehēawan*:*concidere*; *gehweorfan*:*convertere*; *gehwyrfednes*:*conversio*; *gelæccan*:*comprehendere*; *gelapung*:*convocatio*; *gelēfan*:*confidere*; *gelīfan*:*id.*; *gelēod*:*compatriota*; *gelicgan*:*conja-cere*; *gelonda*:*conterraneus* (OHG *gilanti*); *geliger*:*concubitus*; *gelīman*:*con-glutinare*; *gemacca*:*consors*; *gemengan*:*commiscere*; *gemānan*:*communicare*; *gemāne*:*communis*; *gemānung*:*communio*; *gemētan*:*comperire*; *gemettan*:*comestores*; *gemōd*:*concors*, *consentiens*; *gemōdsumian*:*concordare*; *gemyne-gian*:*commemorare*; *geniman* 'take, take up; comprehend':*comprehendere*; *geportian*:*contundere*; *gepunian*:*conterere*; *gerinnan*:*coagulare*; *gerihtan*:*corrigere*; *gescānan*:*confringere*; *gesetnes* 'position, foundation, tradition; an institution, constitution, decree, law, ordinance':*constitutio*; *gesettan*:*constituere* (cf. the close agreement in the wide development of meaning);

- gesīþ*: *comitatus*; *gesmēþan*: *complanare*; *gespittan*: *conspuere*; *gesprengan*:
conspargere; *gestrangian*: *corroborare*; *gestrengan*: *confortare*; *getael*: *compu-*
tatio; *getellan*: *computare*; *getoge*: *contractio*; *geþēodan*: *conjungere*; *geþēodnes*
 'a joining, juncture, joint; conjugation': *conjugatio*; *gewīdlian*: *coinquinare*;
gewilnung: *concupiscentia*; *gewita*: *consciūs*; *gewit* 'wit, senses; knowledge,
 understanding; consciousness': *conscientia*; *gewritan*: *conscribere*; *gewrī-*
tere: *conscriptor*
geond:- *per*- *geondfaran*: *perambulare*, *pervagare*; *geondfēran*: *pertransire*; *geond-*
flowan: *pertransfluere*; *geondgēotan*: *perfundere*; *geondhweorfan*: *perlustrare*;
geondmengan: *perturbare*; *geondsēon*: *perspicere*; *geondsprengan*: *persper-*
gere; *geondspreōtan*: *pergerminare*; *geondwlitan*: *perspicere*
gōdspel: *bonus nuntius*, εὐαγγέλιον; cf. OHG *gōtspel*, a loan-word from the OE
goldsmiþ: *aurifex*; *gyldenfeaxa*: *auricomus*
hancrēd 'cock crowing; a division of the night': *gallicinium*, OHG *hanacrāt*
handfull: *manipulus*; *handgewrit*: *manuscriptum*, *chirographum*, χειρόγραφον
hēafodēce: *capitis dolor*, κεφαλαλγία
hēahfæder: *pater excelsus* ('deus'), but cf. I b
hellehund: *inferi canis*; *hundestunge*: *cynoglossum*, κυνόγλωσσον
hringsittend: *circumsedens*; *hringsiede*: *circular stadium*
hunigflōwende: *mellifluous*; *hunigbære*: *mellifer*
in:- *in*- *ināwritting*: *inscribitio*; *inbærniß*: *incensum*; *inlædan*: *introducere*; *in-*
beornan: *inardescere*; *inbewindan*: *involvere*; *inblāwan*: *insufflare*; *inbyrne*:
incendia; *inbūan*: *inhabitare*; *infindan*: *invenire*; *inflæscnes*, *inlīchamung*:
incarnatio; *inlīhtan*: *illuminare*; *inlīxan*: *inlucescere*; *innīwian*: *innovare*;
insecāwere: *inspector*; *insettan*: *instituere*; *instandan*: *instare*; *instede*: *in-*
stanter
lācdād: *munificentia*
langmōd: *longanimis*, OHG *lancmuot*; *rūmmōd*: *magnanimus*
lēaslicettan: *dissimulari*; *lēaslicettung*: *dissimulatio*; *lēasspanung*: *seductio*
lēonfōt: *leontopodium*
līgflāemende: *flammivomous*; *līglocc*: *flammicomis*
lufestre: *amatrix*; *lufiend*: *amans*; *luffīc*: *amabilis*
lytelhȳdig, *lytelmōd*: *pusillanimis*
mægracu: *genealogia*, γενεαλογία
manigfeald: *multiplex*, Goth. *managfalþs*; *manigfildan*: *multiplicare*
menniscnes: *humanitas*; *menlufigend*: *philanthropos*, φιλόανθρωπος
middle finger: *medius (digitus)*; *middæg*: *meridies*; *midniht*: *media nox*
mid:- *con*- *midwist*: *conscientia*; *midwyrca*: *colaborare*, *cooperare*; *midwyrhta*:
cooperator; *midyrfenuma*: *cohaeris*
mōnandæg: *dies lunae*

SEMANTIC BORROWING

neþelæs: nihilominus

niþerstigan: descendere

numol: capax as niman to capere

ofer-: super- oferbecuman: supervenire; oferbidan, oferlæfan: superesse; oferbræw: supercilium; oferflēon: supervolare; oferflōwan: superfluere; oferflōwednes: superfluitas; ofergestrionigan: superlucrari; ofergewrit: superscribitio; oferhebban, oferūpāhebban: superexaltare; oferhlīfan: supereminere; oferhygd, ofermōdignes, ofermēde: superbia, OHG ubarhuht, ubarmuoti; oferīdyllīce: supervacue; ofersāwan: superseminare; ofersittan 'occupy; desist from, abstain': supersedere; oferwistlic: supersubstantialis

ofer-: trans- ofercerr: transmigratio; ofercearfan: transfretare; oferfēran, ofergān: transire; ofergemercigan: transfigurare; oferhlēapan: transilire; oferlād: translatio; oferlēoran: transire; ofersālic: transmarinus; ofersendan: transmittere; ofersteppean: transgredi; oferstigan: transcendere; oferswimman: transnatare

of-: de- ofgestignes: descensio; ofhabban: detinere; oflēon: detrahere

of-: ob- ofsittan: obsidere; ofþryccan: opprimere

on- (an-): in-, ad- onālan: accendere, incendere; onbelādan: adducere, inducere; onbærnan 'kindle, burn, consume; incite': incendere; anbūgan: inflectere; onblāwan: inspirare, inflare; onblāwnes: inspiratio; onbryrdan: instigare; oncnāwan: agnoscere; anfilt: incus; onfōn 'accept; begin; take to one's self; perceive, comprehend': incipere, accipere; ongang: ingressus; ongecīgung: invocatio; onhēaw: incus; onhildan: inclinare; onhnīgan: incumbere; onhwirfan: invertere; onlihtan: illuminare; onmiddan: in medio; anrine: incurisio; onsang: incantatio; ansacan: impugnare; ansīn 'face; sight; appearance; aspect, look; shape, form': aspectus; onstandan 'insist, persist; demand': instare, 'occupy a place, dwell': insistere; onstellan: instituere; ontimbran: instruere; ontimbernes: instructio; anwadan: invadere; onwendan: invertere; onwritung: inscriptio; onwunian: inhabitare

on-: re- onwrēon: revelare; onwrigenes: revelatio

or-: de-, se- orleahter: discrimen; ormōd: desperatio; orsorg: securus, OHG ursorg; orsorgnes: securitas; ortrēowe: difidens; ortrēownes: difidentia; ortrūwian: desperare; orwirþu, orweorþ: dedecus, dishonor (DuCange); orweg: devia

rihtwritere: orthographus, ὀρθογράφος

samod-: con- samodgeflit: concertatio; samodherung: conlaudatio; samodrynelas: concurrentes; samodswēgende: consonantes; samodwyrccende: cooperans

scipþryce, scipgebroc: naufragium; sciphlēford: nauclerus, ναύκληρος

Scyppend: 'Creator'

sixcege: hexagonum

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- sōþhweþere*: veruntamen; *sōþsaga*: veriloquium, verum dictum
stuntgespræc: stultiloquium
brōþorslaga: fratricida; *fæderslaga*: parricida; *mannslaga*: homicida; *mōdor-
 slaga*: matricida
sunnandæg: solis dies; *sunstede*, *sungiht*: solstitium (cf. ἡλιοτρόπιον, OHG
sunnewende)
swīþmōd: magnanimus; *swīþsprecol*: magniloquus
synderæ: privilegium, OHG *suntarēwa*
tīdscēawere: horoscopus; *tīdscriptor*, *tīdwrītere*: chronographus, χρονογράφος
tīwesdæg: Marti dies
tō:-de-, inter- *tōcnāwan*: dinosci; *tōcweþan*: interdicere; *tōdālan*: distinguere,
 discernere; *tōscēadan*, *tōtwæman*: id.; *tōsettan*: disponere; *tōflōwan*: dif-
 fluere; *tōgēotan*: diffundere; *tōlisan*: dissolvere; *tōlisednes*: dissolutio; *tōwrī-
 tan*: describere
tō:-con- *tōnama*: cognomen; *tōsamnian*: colligere; *tōslūpan*: collabi
tō:-ad- *tōwrītan*: adscribere; *tōwunderlīc*: admirabilis
twīfeald: duplex; *twīfēte*: bipes; *twīhēafode*: biceps; *twīnebbe*: bifrons; *twīspræce*
 'bilingual; deceitful in speech': *bilinguis*
þrīdæled: tripartitus; *þrīfeald*: triplex; *þrīfeoðor*: triquadrum; *þrīfēte*: tripes;
þrīgēare: triennium; *þrīhēafede*: triceps; *þrīhīwede*: triformis; *þrīnes*: trini-
 tas; *þrīrēdre*: triremis
þūsundhīwe: milleformes
þurh:-per-, trans- *þurhborian*: perforare; *þurhclānsian*: permundare; *þurhdelfan*:
 periodire; *þurhfæstnian*: transfigere; *þurhflēon*: pervolare; *þurhgēotan*: per-
 fundere; *þurhhælan*: persanare
þurh:-per-, prae- *þurhhefig*: praegravis; *þurhwacol*: pervigil; *þurhwerod*: persua-
 vis
un:-in- with negative force. The agreements are here so numerous that
 only a small number of representative examples is given.
unāberendlīc: intolerabilis; *unābīgendlīc*: inflexibilis; *unābindendlīc*: indissolu-
 bilis; *unāfyllendlīc*: insatiabilis; *unāsecgendlīc*: ineffabilis (cf. NE unspeak-
 able); *uncūþ*: incognitus, ignotus; *undēaþlīc*: immortalis; *ungeendod*: infini-
 tum; *ungefēlē*: insensibilis; *ungelīc*: dissimilis; *ungemæte*: immensus; *un-
 gewemmed*: immaculatus; *ungewis*: incertus; *ungyltig*: inculpabilis; *unhyg-
 dig*: insipiens; *unmæhtig*: impotens; *unoferfere*: intransmeabilis; *unoferswīþ-
 ende*: insuperabilis; *unriht*: injustus; *unripe*: immaturus; *unwisdom*: insipi-
 entia
under:-sub- *underberan*: supportare; *underbrædan*: substernere; *underburh*: sub-
 urbium; *undercrēopan*: surrepere; *undercuman*: subvenire; *underdelfan*:
 suffodire; *underearm*: subbrachia; *underfōn*: suscipere; *underfang*: suscep-

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tor: *underhlistan*: *subaudire*; *underhnīgan*: *succumbere*; *undersingan*: *succinere*; *undersittan*: *subsidiere*; *understandennes*: *substantia*; *undertunge*: *sublingua*; *underweaxan*: *succrescere*; *underwendan*: *subvertere*; *underweorpan*: *subjicere*; *underwædel*: *subfibulum*; *underwritan*: *subscribere*; *underwyrwtalian*: *supplantare*

ūp:-*super*- *ūplīc* 'on high; lofty, sublime; celestial': *supernus*; *ūpofersteppan*: *supratransgredi*; *ūppa(n)*: *supernus*; *ūprīce*: *supernum*, i.e., *coeleste regnum*; *ūpware*: *superi incolae*

ūp:-*ex*- *ūpriht*: *erectus*; *ūphebban*: *extollere*; *ūpāhæfnes*, *ūpāhafednes*: *elatio*; *ūp-
hefnes*: *elevatio*

ūt:-*ex*- *ūtfær*: *exitus*; *ūtlic*: *externus*; *ūtāspīwan*: *evomere*; *ūtdræf*: *expulsio*; *ūtdragan*: *extrahere*; *ūtgeotan*: *effundere*; *ūtflōwan*: *effluere*; *ūtfaran*: *exire*
wæterfyrhtnes: *hydrophobia*, ὕδροφοβία; *wætergyte*, *wætergelæt*, *wætertyge*: *aeque-
ductus*; *wæterwīte*: *clepsychra*, κλεψύδρα

wiþ-, *wiþer*:-*contra*-, *ob*-, *re*-, *con*- *wiþsecgan*, *wiþcweþan*: *contradicere*; *wiþer-
cweþolnes*: *contradictio*; *wiþmeting*, *wiþgemetnes*: *comparatio*; *wiþheardian*:
obdurare; *wiþsacan*: *recusare*; *wiþsettan*: *obsistere*; *wiþerstandan*: *resistere*;
wiþstandan: *obstare*; *wiþscūfan*: *repellere*; *wiþercrist*: *antichristus*; *wiþo-
winde*: *convolutus*

wōdensdæg: *Jovis dies*

yfelcweþan: *maledicere*; *yfeldæd*: *maleficium*; *yfeldōnd*: *malefactor*; *yfelwille*:
malevolens

ymb:-*circum*- *ymbbignes*: *circumflexus*; *ymbceorfan*: *circumcidere*; *ymbceorfnes*:
circumcisio; *ymbgān*: *circumire*; *ymbgeotan*: *circumfundere*; *embegyrðan*:
circumcingere; *ymblēðan*: *circumducere*; *ymbliþan*: *circumnavigare*; *ymblē-
cian*, *ymbscēawian*: *circumspicere*; *ymbsellan*: *circumdare*; *ymbsettan*: *circum-
ponere*; *ymb sittan*: *circumcidere*; *ymb snīþan*: *circumcidere*; *ymbwlātian*
'look around; consider, contemplate': *circumspicere*; *ymbwritan*: *circum-
scribere*

GROUP I *b*

æfæst: *religiosus*

angnægl: *παρωνυχία*

ānlic 'single; singular; incomparable': *unicus*; *ānlīce*: *unice*

anlīcnes 'likeness; an example; image, idol': *similitudo*, cf. εἰδολον

ærendwreca: *apostulus*, ἀπόστολος

ærumbūtan: *circumquaque*

æwisberend: *impudicus*

āgen 'proper, peculiar': *proprius* 'property: *proprium*'; *āgenspraec*: *idioma*,
ἰδιόμα; *āgennes*: *proprietas*

- bealolēas*:innocens; *beardlēas*:imberbis
besorēadian:rubefacere
betrian:meliorari
bewearian, *bewearidian*:custodire
bite:morsellus
bīsibbe:affinis
bleorēad:caeruleo-ruber
britterere:dispensator
bōcgestreon, *bōchord*:thesaurus, θησαυρός, bibliotheca, βιβλιοθήκη; *bōclēaf*:folium
 codicis; *bōclīc*:biblicus
candelsnýtels 'candle-snuffers':emunctorium cf. *emungere* 'blow the nose; snuff
 a candle'
cæghyrde:clavicularius
cennendlīcan:genetalia
costigend 'the tempter, i.e., devil':tentator; *costung*:tentatio
cweornlēþ:molaes; *grindantlēþ*:id.
cyselstān:cauculus (DuCange)
cysgerunn:lactis coagulum
dēadlīc:mortalis; *dēadlīcnys*:mortalitas; *undēadlīcnes*:immortalitas; *dyrnege-*
 writ:apocrypha, ἀπόκρυφος
eaxlclāþ:humeralis
menniscnes, *flāscnes*:incarnatio; *flāsclic*:carnalis; *geflāscharmōd*:incarnatus
geæpele:congenitus
gealgrēow:crux
gebiecniend:index (digitus)
gebundenes:obligatio; *gebīnd*:strictura
gebýgednes:declinatio; *gebrōþorscipe*:fraternitas; *gerestscipe*:concubitus; *gerýne*:
 mysterium, μυστήριον; *getāwe*:instrumenta (genitalia); *geþeaht*:consilium;
 geþrāstnes:contritio; *geunrētan*:contristare; *geunrōtsian*:contribulare
godgespræc:oraculum
gnīdenmys:contritio
gylðingwecg:aurifodina
hāl:salus, salius; *hālettend*:salutaris (digitus); *hæland*:salvator; *hāls*, *hālor*:
 salvatio; *hālgā* 'a saint':sanctus; *hālig*:sanctus; *hāligdōm*:sanctimonia; 'a
 holy place':sanctuarium
handbōc:manualis, *enchiridion*, ἐγχειρίδιον; *handsceat*:manutergium; *hand-*
 selen:mancipatio; *handlīn*:manipulus; *handle*:manubrium; *handlian*:
 manicare, OHG *hantalōn*:manutractare
hēafodlīc:capitalis; *hēafodfæder*:patriarcha

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hēahfæder: patriarcha, cf. *hēahbiscop*: archiepiscopus; *hēahsongere*: archicantor; *hēahscēawere*: episcopus
hrēosendlic: caducus
heretoga: dux
hīeremon 'disciple': auditor
hringseta: circus; *hringfinger*, *goldfinger*: annularis
hundredesman, *hundredesealdor*: centurio; *hundred* 'assemblage': centuria
hunigswēte: melliculus, mellitus
hweorf: vertebra, vertibulum; *hweorfa*: verticillus; *hwirfel*: vortex
innefare: intestina; *innemēst*: intimus; *innera*: interior
landād: nostalgia; *landbūend*: agricola; *landseten*: territorium
langfære, *langlīfe*: longaeuus
lēohtfruma: lucis auctor
leorningcniht: discipulus; *lārhlystend*, *gelēafhlystend*: catechumenus
licwyrð: beneplacitus
limmælum: membratim
listhendig: dextera manus
liþād: artericus, artriticus
lof, *lofsang*: laus, laudes; *lofsingende*: hymnizantes
middelgesculdru: interscapilium
mōnaþād, *mōnaþblōd*, *mōnaþgecynd*: menstruum; *mōnaþsēoc*: lunaticus
nēadung: necessario
nēahbūr: vicinus, proximus; *nēahlācan*: adpropinquare; *nēahmæg*: propinquus;
nēahnes: propinquum
nihtegale, *nihtthræfn*: noctua, nocticorax
niþerian: humiliare; *niþerlic*: humilis
nīwan: nuper; *nīwancuman*: neophytus, νεόφυτος; *nīwcumend*: novitius
oferbrāðels: amictus; *oferhealfhēafod*: sinciput, cf. ἡμικεφάλιον
oferscēawian: superintendere; *oferslege*: superlimen
ondettere: confessor
ofniman: deficere
rēadda, *rudduc*: rubisca
rihtend, *rihtere*: rector; *rihtgelēafflic*: orthodoxe, ὀρθόδοξος; *rihtwīsnes*: rectitudo
rōdfæstnian: crucifigere
saftriende: rheumaticus (cf. NHG *Fluss* 'rheuma,' ρεύμα)
scildtruma: testudo
sciphlæst: oneraria
selflic: sui amans; *selflicung*: philautia, φιλαυτία
seolforsmiþ: argentarius

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sixhyrnede: *sexangulatum*

slāpfulnes: *somnolentia*; *slāpleast*: *insomnia*; *slāpern*: *dormitorium*

sliten: *schismaticus*, σχισματικός

stæfcraeft: *grammatica (ars)* (cf. *craeft*, Group II); *stæflīc*: *literate in stede*: *loco*

sunderhālg: *Phariseus* (Heb. *Phares* 'divisio')

tēoþingealdor: *decanus*; *tēoþung*: *decimatio*

tungolcraeft: *astrologia*, ἀστρολογία

twīgecged: *biceps*

þolemōd: *longanimis*

þurnhālig: *sacrosanctus*

undergitan: *intelligere*; *underþeodda*: *subditus*

unsceþpende, *unsceapfull*: *innocens*

ūpāhefe: *exalta*; *ūpāþenian*: *suspendere*; *ūþrice*: *supernum*; *ūpārīsnēs*: *resurrectio*

wæterādġl, *wætersēocnes*: *hydrops*, ὕδρωψ; *wætergyte*: *aquarius* (sign of the zodiac)

weorold 'world; an age; a person's lifetime, conditions of life': *saeculum*

werlīcan: *virilia*

wēstensetla: *heremita*

wuldorful: *gloriosus*; *wuldorfullian*: *glorificare*

GROUP II

Because of the long association of OE with Latin, it was inevitable that many OE words, semantically less highly developed than the latter, should take on more or less of the semantic coloring of the words they translated. The influence of semantic analogy becomes especially striking where words that show a great diversity of meaning are considered. It is obvious that the greater the semantic diversity the less likely are the meanings to correspond, if we presume spontaneous development rather than analogical influence. When, therefore, we find the meanings coinciding in the great majority of deviations from the fundamental meaning, the likelihood becomes all the greater, especially since we know that the OE word was used over and over again to translate the Latin form. The analogical development begins with the association of the two words through a synonymous idea. For example, OE *þing* meant originally 'an assembly,' then 'a matter brought before an assembly,' i.e., 'a lawsuit.' In this last sense it translated two

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Latin words *causa* and *res*. From the former it then took over by analogy the meanings 'cause, reason, account,' and from the latter, 'matter [in general], affair [plur. affairs]; act, deed; event, occurrence, fact, circumstance; a being, creature; a material object, body, stuff; property, wealth.' It is interesting to note that NE *thing* is used today exclusively in these analogical meanings, the fundamental meaning being lost. The same is true of OE *sacu* 'strife; lawsuit,' which was used to translate *causa* and today retains only the analogical meanings in NE *sake*.

In recording the words of this group, the fundamental meaning of the OE and then the possible analogical meanings which have exact parallels in the Latin are given. It stands to reason that only such correspondences are included in which the frequent association of the two words is a matter of record. This list makes no claim to completeness, and further investigation would unquestionably increase it materially.

- ær* 'honor, dignity; respect': *honor*; 'kindness, favor': *gratia*; 'property, possessions, benefice' (DuCange): *beneficium*
bār 'a litter; couch, pallet; bier': *feretrum*, Gr. *φέρετρον*
bēodan 'command; announce, inform': *mandare*
beorht 'bright, clear; brilliant, magnificent, glorious, sublime': *clarus*
bescēawodnes, gesiht, siene 'sight; vision, apparition': *visio*
bite 'a bite; pain [of a wound]': *morsus* (cf. *lb*)
bōsum 'bosom, breast; interior parts, applied to the surface of the sea, lake, a river or the ground': *sinus*
brēost 'breast; stomach; seat of the vital powers, feelings and affections; heart, mind': *pectus*
brūcan 'use; enjoy [*fruo*]; eat; wear; perform': *uti*
clāne 'pure, clean; chaste, innocent': *purus*
crabba 'crab; sign of the zodiac Cancer': *cancer*
cræft 'strength; art, skill, craft; cunning, knowledge; trick, deceit': *ars, artificium*, cf. Gr. *τέχνη*
cȳðere 'a witness; a martyr': *martyr*, *μάρτυρ*; *cȳðan* 'make known; manifest, show, confess, testify': *testari*
dāl 'a part, portion; share; division, region, district; part of speech (*pars orationis*): *pars*; *be dāle*: *in parte*

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- drihten* 'a ruler; God, Christ': *dominus*
dýre 'dear, beloved; costly, precious': *carus*
ealdor (compar.) 'an elder; civil or religious authority': *senior*; *ealdorman*
 'alderman, senator; chief nobleman of highest rank': *senator*
earm 'an arm; an inlet of the sea or ocean': *bracchium*
edreccan 'chew; ruminate, consider': *ruminare*
fæstnes 'firmness; the firmament': *firmamentum*
fearr 'a bull: the Bull, one of the signs of the zodiac': *taurus*
feoh 'cattle; money, value; property, wealth': *pecunia*
fēond 'enemy; devil': *inimicus* (Vulgate), cf. Gr. ἐχθρός
feðer 'a feather; pen; plur. wings': *penna*
fremede 'strange; foreign; unfriendly; estranged from': *alienus*; *fremdian*:
 alienare
fyll 'a fall; case, inflection in grammar': *casus*
fyllnes 'fulness; plenitude, satiety; completion': *plenitudo*
gāst 'the breath; spirit, soul, ghost; Holy Ghost [*se hālgā gāst*]: *spiritus*
 sanctus': *spiritus*
gebýgan 'bow, bend; inflect or decline a part of speech': *inflectere, declinare*
gecīgednes 'a calling; vocation': *vocatio*; *gecīgan* 'vocare'
gerādan 'advise; determine,' *rādan* 'counsel, give advice; consult, deliberate;
 resolve, determine, decide': *consulere*; *gerādnes* 'decree, purpose, inten-
 tion, resolution': *consultum*
gift 'a gift; dowry': *dos*
geongra 'junior; disciple, follower': *junior* (cf. *ealdor*: *senior*)
grund 'ground; bottom; foundation': *fundamentum*; 'depths [of the sea],
 abyss, hell': [*pro*] *fundum*
hefig 'heavy, weighty; oppressive, grievous; severe, serious; weighty, im-
 portant': *gravis*
hirde 'shepherd; minister of the church, pastor': *pastor*
hīw 'shape, form; species, kind; natural character, aspect, appearance; hue,
 color; beauty; apparition': *species*; *hīwian* 'form, fashion; feign, pretend':
 figere
hrēow 'sorrow, regret; penitence, penance, repentance': *poenitentia*
hund 'hound, dog; applied to persons as a term of abuse': *canis*
īdel 'empty; destitute, void; vain, useless': *vanus*; 'idle, unemployed': *vacuus*
mōd 'heart, mind, spirit; courage, arrogance; pride': *animus*
openlice 'openly; plainly, clearly, evidently': *aperte*
ramm 'a ram; an instrument for pounding or battering': *aries*
rīce 'power, authority; empire, dominion': *imperium*

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- riht* 'straight; erect; right, proper, fair; lawful': *rectus*
sæd 'seed; progeny, posterity': *semen*
scēadan 'separate; discriminate, decide,' *scēad* 'separation; understanding, reckoning, reason': *cernere*
scearp 'sharp; acute, keen, shrewd': *acutus*; 'sharp; bitter; acid': *acer* *scēawere* 'an observer, one who examines into a matter': *spectator*; 'a spy': *speculator*; 'a watch tower': *specula*; 'a mirror': *speculum*; *scēawung* 'examination; contemplation, consideration; respect, regard': *spectatio*; 'spectacle, show': *spectaculum*
scīran 'make clear; declare, tell': *declarare*
segl 'a sail; veil, curtain': *velum*
sellend 'a giver; betrayer': *traditor*
sēon 'see; perceive, understand, comprehend': *videre*
seil 'seat; place, position; residence, dwelling; a see [eccl.]; the part of the body on which one sits; the right of a member of an official body': *sedes*; *sæt*, *sætning* 'a lying in wait; snare,' *sætung* 'ambush, plot, trap': *insidiae*; *sætere* 'robber, spy; seducer': *insidiator*
spell 'story, narrative; fable': *fabula*; 'philosophical argument, sermon, homily': *sermo*
stæf 'staff; written character, letter; plur. a collection of written symbols, a letter, writing; letters, literature': *littera*
steall 'a standing position; place, stead; stall, stable; place for catching fish': *stabulum*
stede 'place; position, status; state, condition': *status*
synderlic 'separate, apart; private': *privatus*; 'special, peculiar, proper': *propius*; *syndrig* 'separate, single; extraordinary, remarkable; each separately, one each': *singularis*
tācn 'token, sign; signal; a prognostic, symptom [med.]; standard, banner': *signum*
tellan 'tell; recount; reckon, compute, calculate; consider': *numerare, computare*
trumnes 'strength, stability; soundness, health': *firmitas*; *trum* 'strong, healthy': *firmus*
tunge 'tongue; words, speech, language': *lingua*, cf. Gr. γλῶσσα
þēaw 'custom, usage; disposition; mode of conduct; [legal] usage; custom, habit; plur. virtues, manners, morals': *mos*; 'practice [of religion], method of belief': *ritus*
þegn 'servant; disciple': *minister*; *þegnung* 'service; ministrations; a service': *ministerium*; 'service [of an official]': *officium*

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- þēod* 'nation, people; plur. gentiles': *gentes*; *þēodscipe* 'teaching, instruction; administration, law, authority; discipline; mode of conduct, custom; learning, knowledge, understanding': *disciplina*
- þing* 'assembly, lawsuit; cause, reason, account': *causa*; 'matter, affair; affairs; act, deed; event, occurrence, fact, circumstance; a being, creature; a material object, body, stuff; property, wealth': *res*
- præstan* 'twist; torment, torture, rack': *torquere*; *prāwan* *id.*
- prōwung* 'suffering [of Christ]; martyrdom': *passio*
- purhtēon* 'carry through; continue; bring to pass, achieve': *perducere*
- wendan* 'turn; translate, interpret': *vertere*; *wendere* 'a translator'
- wlite* 'aspect, countenance; looks, appearance; shape, form; beautiful appearance, beauty': *species*, cf. *hīw*; *wlitig*: *speciosus*
- word* 'a word; a verb; a saying, sentence; message; language; the word of God (Gr. λόγος)': *verbum*; *wordig*: *verbosus*; *wordfull*: *id.*

RECURRING FIRST ELEMENTS IN DIFFERENT
NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN *BEOWULF*
AND IN THE *ELDER EDDA*

◊

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A modern reader of *Beowulf* is almost inevitably struck by what seems like an excessive use of certain words as the first element of different nominal compounds;¹ for example, *gúþ* figures as the first element of thirty different compounds, of which not a few give the impression of having been created mainly for the sake of the alliteration, e.g., *gúþ-beorn*, *-bil*, *-byrne*, *-freca*, *-helm*, *-rinc*, *-sceapa*, *-searo*, *-sweord*, and *-wíga*. Now the question is: Was compounding of this sort regarded as excessive, cumbersome, and otiose by critical contemporary hearers and readers; was it regarded as good and legitimate art; or did it pass more or less unobserved?² Since, however, no recourse may be had to contemporary native criticism, and since the present writer is strongly of the feeling that the criticism of a cultured bilingual Scandinavian of the viking period—an Egil Skalla-grímsson, say—would be of greater value in such matters than that of any later-day reader, he is tempted to set up as a standard or measure the practice of the brilliant poets of the *Elder*

¹ Professor Klaeber (*Beowulf* ed., p. lxxv and n. 1) hits directly at one aspect of this matter (italics mine): "Descriptive or intensive in character,—*at times*, it is true, *merely cumbersome and otiose*—, the nominal (i.e., substantive and adjective) compounds make their weight strongly felt in the rhetoric of the poem."

² A really exhaustive study of the question here broached would require a sharp distinction being made between compounds where the first element is merely intensive and those where the second element definitely adds to, or alters, the meaning of the first element. In the present note it will be possible to compare only in a rough-and-ready way the various totals of first elements compounding with five or more different nouns and adjectives.

Edda, or, to put it otherwise, to use the *Edda* as a sort of mirror in which to view Old English poetry, in particular *Beowulf*, recapturing perhaps in this way something of the critical attitude which our imaginary Scandinavian might have brought to a reading of the English poem.¹

The extent, however, to which one may legitimately apply to *Beowulf* standards of diction and style prevailing in the corpus of Eddic verse is obviously somewhat limited, due chiefly to the fundamental difference in the respective genres. But in mere verbal technique, especially as affected by metrical exigencies, the problems that confronted the Norse and the English poets were virtually identical, and a comparison of the two may serve the reader seeking to establish critical standards of a departed tradition. I present, accordingly, the following lists based on a count of those words that occur in *Beowulf* and in the *Elder Edda* as the first element of five or more different compounds.²

¹ A. Hoffmann's article, "Der bildliche Ausdruck im *Beowulf* und in der *Edda*," *Englische Studien*, VI (1883), 163 ff., suggests what may be done in this general direction.

² These collections are made from the Glossary of Klaeber's *Beowulf* and Hugo Gering's *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda* (*Germanist. Handbibliothek* [Halle, 1905], VII, 2). Considerations of space make it desirable to exclude words compounded with only two to four different words.

No note has been taken of Eddic compounds whose first element is a form of *allr*, *einn*, *fjöl*, *fulr*, and *halfr*, nor of any compound, Norse or English, whose second element is *-full* (*-fullr*) and *-léas* (*-lauss*). The first mentioned are neither peculiar to nor characteristic of the poetic vocabulary; their use was—and still is in Mod. Icel.—practically unlimited; *-full*, (*-fullr*), and *-léas* (*-lauss*) are certainly rather to be regarded as suffixes than as the second element of adjective compounds.

For Eddic compounds there seems to be no reason for holding here to Holthausen's distinction of *echt* and *unecht* (*Altisländ. Elementarbuch* [Weimar, 1895], § 312 and § 304), known to Mod. Icel. grammarians as *samsetning án beygingarendi* *gar* and *samsetning með beygingarendingu*, i.e., *föst samsetning* and *laus samsetning*; on the types of compounds here mentioned see H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* (4th ed.; Halle, 1920), § 232, p. 335.

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN *BEOWULF*

I. WORDS OCCURRING IN FIVE DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 12; *Edda* 11)

Beowulf

bord [borþ ₂] ¹	morgen [morgen ₁]
dryht [drótt ₁]	stán [steinn ₁]
ealdor 'life' [aldr ₈]	wæg (wég) [vágr ₁]
épel [ópal ₁]	wíd(e) [vípr ₂]
freoþo (friþo, friþo) [friþr ₁]	worold (woruld) [*verold]
fyrn [forn ₁]	ýþ [*uþr]

Edda

berg [*beorg (beorh)]	langr [lang (long) ₂]
eitr [attor (áter) ₂]	regen [regn ₁]
fagr [*fægr rare]	sól (<i>not in W. Germ.</i>)
faþer [fæder ₁]	súpr [*súþ]
høt [héah ₇]	vargr [*wearh]

verr² [wer₁]

2. WORDS OCCURRING IN SIX DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 9; *Edda* 10)

Beowulf

bán [*bein]	gár [geirr ₄]
béag (béah) [baug ₃]	gryre (<i>Low Germ. only?</i>)
bréost [brjóst ₁]	heall [*holl]
ellen [eljon ₁]	{ íren ₄ [ísarn ₁]
ende [*ende]	{ ísern ₂ [járn ₃]

Edda

fjor [feorh ₁₁]	mein [mán ₁]
gúþr [gúþ ₃₀]	orþ [word ₄]
hjorr [heoro ₁₀]	stórr [stór]
hús [*hús]	þjóþ [þéod ₄]
{ heime ³ [hám ₁]	ætt [*æht 'possession']
{ heimr ₄	

¹ For further comparison I have included in square brackets the ON (or OE) etymological—usually also semasiological—equivalent of the main word; inferior figures indicate the number of times the word is used in the *Edda* (or in *Beowulf*) as the first element of a nominal compound; a preceding * shows that the word so marked appears in compounds but not in the documents here studied.

Here and below, Norse words are cited in the nom. sing., to facilitate reference to Gering who collects all compounds under the nom. sing. form of the various elements.

² Not counting *verold*.

³ Not counting *heimboþ* and *heimfor*, where *heim-* is really adverbial; see A. M. Sturtevant, "Semological Notes on Old Norse *heim-* in Compounds," *Pub. Soc. Advancement Scand. Study*, III (1916), 255.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

3. WORDS OCCURRING IN SEVEN DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 11; *Edda* 3)

Beowulf

brim [brim ₃]	land (lond) [land ₄]
fyrð [*ferþ]	líf [*líf]
gum- [gume]	máþpum (máþm) [meiþmar, <i>plur. tant.</i>]
héah [hør ₅]	mód [móþr ₂]
hring [hringr ₄]	sele [salr ₇]
	wunder (wundor, wundur) [*undr]

Edda

salr [sele₇], ql [calu₄], øss [Ós- *in* Ósláf]

4. WORDS OCCURRING IN EIGHT DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 5; *Edda* 3)

Beowulf

déaþ [*ðauþr]	hyge [hugr ₉]
eorþ [jorþ ₂]	léod [*ljóþ]
	níp [*níþ]

Edda

aldr 'life' [ealdor ₅]	megen [mægen ₉]
vind [wind ₂]	

5. WORDS OCCURRING IN NINE DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 7; *Edda* 2)

Beowulf

eald [cf. aldenn ₁]	mere [*marr]
hord [hodd]	mægen [megen ₈]
inwit [íviþ ₁]	searo [cf. sørve]
	sige [sigr ₂]

Edda

folk [folc₁₀], hugr [hyges]

6. WORDS OCCURRING IN TEN OR MORE DIFFERENT COMPOUNDS

(*Beowulf* 14; *Edda* 4)

Beowulf

10 folc [folk ₉], gold [goll ₁₄], heoro (hioro) [hjorr ₆]
11 feorh (ferh) [fjor ₆], hand (hond) [hond ₄], medo [mjorþ ₁]

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN *BEOWULF*

- 12 beado [bøp₁] 14 here [herr₁₃] 16 wíg [víg₁₃]
 19 sǣ [sær₄] 20 heaþo [Høþ- in Høþbrodr]
 24 wæl [valr₁₉], hilde¹ [hildr₃] 30 gúþ [guþr₆]

Edda

- 13 herr [here₁₄], víg [wíg₁₆] 14 goll [gold₁₀] 19 valr [wæl₂₄]

In considering the foregoing lists one must of course bear in mind that the figures for *Beowulf* are based on about three thousand lines of verse, those for the *Edda* on about seven thousand lines of verse and not a little prose; so that the figures for the *Edda* should be reduced by somewhat more than 100 per cent if we are to express an approximately absolute proportion. Thus in the compounding-frequencies 5 and 6, where the figures for both are almost or exactly identical, the *Edda* has in proportion to its length far fewer of the type of compound in question than has *Beowulf*. In the main, too, it may be said that the higher the compounding-frequency, the greater is the discrepancy between the two works.

The temptation to make recurrent use of the same first compounding elements no doubt arose in seeking alliterating words.² Yet the demands of alliteration under no less exacting conditions than those of Old English stichic verse are met by the Eddic poets without abuse of this device.³ Why is the *Beowulf* poet more extravagant in this regard than the Scandinavians? Because of a more limited vocabulary on which to draw? This can scarcely be the true explanation since the vo-

¹ Not counting the conjectural *hilde-blác*.

² An interesting and enlightening study could be made of an examination of all OE poetry to determine the extent to which nominal compounds are used for *stúplar*, to what extent for *hofudstofur* (cf. *Háttatal*, § 1). This might ultimately lead to an understanding of the actual technique of composition. We might at any rate discover to what extent the poets were "victims" of alliteration. E. G. Parodi, "La Rima e i Vocaboli in Rima nella *Divina Commedia*," *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S.; 1895, 1896), III, 81-156, illustrates the application of this idea to rhyming verse.

³ Remarkd upon in passing by O. Krackow, *Die Nominalcomposita als Kunstmittel im altengl. Epos* (Berlin diss., 1903), p. 15.

cabulary of Old English is so exceedingly rich. It seems further unlikely that the poet of *Beowulf*, a man of much fine feeling and broad culture, would deliberately adopt a technique of mechanical repetition—witness his systematic and effective use of variation—as a literary artifice; he repeats, I believe, his stock-in-trade of first elements only because he is less skilful, less resourceful in this regard, than his Scandinavian fellows.

Therefore, although his audience, probably knowing nothing better in the way of alliterative verse, may have been uncritical on this point, let us not fail to recognize that, in respect to the use of the very prominent feature of recurring first elements of different nominal compounds, the style of *Beowulf* is inferior to, or at any rate quite different from, that of the Eddic lays.

NOTES ON THE PREVERB *ge-* IN ALFREDIAN ENGLISH

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The verb prefix *ge-* in Alfredian English is discussed in a doctoral dissertation by P. Lenz, *Der syntactische Gebrauch der Partikel "ge" in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen* (Darmstadt, 1886). Lenz deals with only a small part of the material, has some wrong notions (*ge-* due to preceding *mæg*, to presence in clause of purpose, etc.), and, of course, has not yet the concept of aspect; but, on the whole, his work is sound. A later dissertation, by H. Hesse, *Perfektive und imperfektive Aktionsart im Altenglischen* (Münster, 1906), gives extensive material from the OE Bede, but otherwise contributes nothing, since it merely labels all the compound verbs punctual ('perfektiv') and the simple verbs, with a few exceptions, durative ('imperfektiv'), a procedure that stretches the meaning of these terms beyond all sense, and leaves the OE usage largely unexplained. In this paper I shall try to illustrate the use of *ge-* with a few of the commonest verbs that are not at all or inadequately dealt with in the above essays. I confine myself to the *Orosius* and the *Pastoral Care* (ed. Sweet, for E.E.T.S.), so as to avoid problems of dialect and transmission.

1. *bringan*

For *gebringan*, *gebengan*, Lenz (p. 25) gives a few examples; Hesse (p. 86) finds no difference between simple and compound.

a) The simple verb *bringan*, *bengan* is used where no goal is mentioned: *hie sceoldon bringan feowerfetes twa hwit* (O 70, 27); *gif he ða mid him ne brenge* (P 378, 22); *ðone (æcer) ðe ungyfynde corn bringð oððe deaf* (P 411, 20).

The simple verb is used wherever there is a dative object: *ða teð hie brohton sume ðæm cyninge* (O 18, 1); *ðætte ealre worolde swelce sibbe bringan mehte* (O 108, 1); *bengan ðæm consule ðone triumphan* (O 108, 13; so, O 142, 24; 250, 24; P 314, 21; 234, 11; 368, 17; 395, 36).

So even with an adverb of direction: *ðæt mon ðone triumphan him ongean brohte* (O 234, 21); *ond (ða digolnesse) ðonon ut brohte ðæm folce* (P 102, 3).

And even with a prepositional phrase of place whither: *to ðæm gefeohte hæfde Boho Geoweorðan broht to fultume LX M gehorsedra* (O 230, 11), though in general the question of *ge-* with the past participle is another story; *gif hie him Umenes ðone cyning gebundenne to him brohten* (O 146, 32).

This last example shows a contamination of personal dative and *to* plus dative. With the latter also, in this sense, the simple verb is used: *ac ða hit mon to him brohte* (O 242, 18; 260, 32); *ne his ða onfon noldon ðe hiene mon to brohte* (O 218, 34).

b) With a goal and without a personal dative the normal construction for non-personal objects is the simple verb with place whither.

Thus, adverbs: *gif hio mon tidlice to bringð* (O 246, 34); *bringan togædere ðone selestan dæl* (O 272, 25); in this example the general OE usage, as shown by other verbs, would indicate *ge-* if the 'together' were the important point,¹ but here *bringan togædere* is merely an indifferent expression for 'assemble'; *ðæt ðætte hine ne onhagode utane forð to brenganne mid weorcun* (P 417, 17).

Similarly with prepositional phrases: *to ðæm meðie ðæt hie ne mehton ða gefarenan to eorðan bringan* (O 86, 28); note that the emphatic *mæg* does not, as in some types of German, demand *ge-* (Grimm, II, 849); *he wæs se forma mon ðe hie (el-pendas) ærest on Italium brohte* (O 154, 32); *ðætte ðrie wulfas on*

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 833, e.g., *ða stanas . . . ðætte hie mon swæ tosomne gesette* (P 252, 16).

anre niht brohton anes deades monnes lichoman binnan ða burg (O 160, 20); *he het ða hyde to Rome bringan* (O 174, 16); *ða lac ðe man brohte to ðæm weobude* (P 216, 20); *ær hie (ða stanas) mon to ðæm stede brohte* (P 252, 15).

c) With personal objects both the simple and the compound verb are used. When there is no definite point of arrival the construction is as in (b), simple verb and place whither: *ond uneaðe hiene ænne ofer brohte* (O 84, 10).

So also if the point of arrival is merely a natural one, incidentally mentioned, or is already known, the novel or important feature being some other phase of the act: *oð hiene ða burgleode ageafan ðæm consule, ond he hiene het siððan to Rome bringan ond on carcern bescufan* (O 224, 15); the Latin has only 'Romae'; Rome is merely the natural place for the consul to take the prisoner; note that the infinitive after a verb of commanding does not demand *ge-*. (A similar case with the participle *broht* [O 208, 19].) *On ðære tide bebudan Romane ðæt mon Hannibal gefenge ond hiene siððan to Rome brohte* (O 204, 27), 'exhiberi Romam'; here the mention of Rome is again incidental, and the act, in the sequel, is not accomplished. This latter may seem an illogical motive since the command contemplates its own execution, but it occurs too frequently to leave any doubt. (A single example: *gebeodan* is regularly used of a single offer in the past [O 54, 21; 94, 23; 104, 14], but when the offer is not accepted, the simple verb [O 126, 7; 178, 18]; unexpected outcome [O 124, 3]). *Læsse wite he ðrowað on helle gif he ana ðæder cymð ðonne he do gif he oðerne mid him ðæder bringð* (P 32, 3); here arrival and goal have been mentioned and the question is merely that of coming alone or bringing others along; the Latin does not even state the second alternative. *Ðæt sceap ðæt ðær scancforad wæs ne spilcte ge ðæt, ond ðæt ðær forloren wæs ne sohte ge ðæt ne ham ne brohton. Se bringð ham ðone forlorenan, se ðe . . .* (P 122, 11); the bringing home of a sheep does not demand *ge-*; in the second sentence, where

a person is substituted, the bringing home is merely repeated; the Latin has the same repetition, without mention of the self-understood goal, 'reduxisis . . . reducitur.'

If, on the other hand, a person, such as a prisoner or an exile, be brought to some by no means self-understood place, the word is *gebringan* with place where: *ond se æðeling bebead sunum his folce ðæt hie gebrohten Romana consulas ond heora witan æt heora agnum londe ond him beforan drifen swa swa niedlingas, ðæt heora bismer ðy mare wære* (O 122, 6), 'oneratos ignominia consules remiserunt'; the prisoners were sent home, of all places. *Da heton hiene Romane gebindan ond gebringean beforan Numentia fæstennes geate* (O 218, 32), 'ante portas Numantinorum expositus,' taken to the enemy's gate ("ge ohne Grund," Lenz). *And he bebead ðæt mon Iohannes ðone apostol gebrohte on Bothmose ðæm iglande on wræcsiðe* (O 264, 10); *ond heton eft Iohannes æt his mynstre gebrengan on Effesum* (O 264, 22); *he het ealle ða cristnan ðe ðær betste wæron gebringan on elðeode* (O 282, 16); *ða het he ðæt mon ða cristnan men eft gebrohte on heora earde* (O 282, 20); *ond hi Ercol ðær ær gebrohte ond gesette* (O 134, 3), a whole nation moved to a new land; this example is, moreover, perfectic (not 'perfective'): 'had brought.' Alfred is not, like us, compelled to distinguish perfectic action (cf., e.g., the example O 242, 18, above, under *a*); it is all the more expressive when he does so.

d) With abstract goals, and for the bringing of an abstract notion, *gebringan* is used, with place where. One suspects that the abstract use of *bring* was foreign to English, and that, when it was first introduced from Latin, such goals were viewed as unusual, and the habit of using *ge-* was formed, which persisted even after these turns of speech had ceased to seem violent. Thus: *for ðon he ðæt folc on fleame gebrohte* (O 140, 15), also perfectic; *hu he mehte eac his broðor on ðæm onwalde gebringan* (O 292, 24); if *onwald* is to be taken in the physical sense, the return of an exile is involved; *ond ðonne oðre on won gebringð*

(*P* 30, 24; Lenz, "verallgemeinernder Relativsatz," would have no effect); *ðæt he hie gebrenge on life* (*P* 52, 17), 'componat ad vitam'; *ðæt he eow gebrohten on hreowsunge* (*P* 90, 4), 'ad poenitentiam provocarent'; (*P* 34, 17), *on ðæm rice*, 'in regnum,' 'into kingship,' also perfectic, as is *P* 36, 4; so, *P* 88, 9, and many other examples.

Abstract is brought: *ðonne gebringð he beforan ðæs modes eagan idle orsorgnesse ond tohopan* (*P* 415, 27), 'spes ac securitates vacuas ante oculos revocat'; *ðætte sio forsewenes him ege ond ondrysnu on gebrenge* ('formidinem incutiat') *ond eft æfter ðon ðæt hiene sio godcunde manung on wege gebrenge* (*P* 264, 20), where the abstract does the bringing. Bringing away from an abstract: *ðætte hiene sio gewilnung of his modes fæstrædnesse ne gebrenge* (*P* 316, 7), 'a mentis statu dejiciat'; whether a concrete point of departure would take *ge-*, our examples do not tell us.

Only once does the simple *bringan* occur with an abstract goal whither: *ac he hiera sundorspræce to unsibbe brohton* (*O* 202, 13); the unusual turn of speech brings out the unintended, accidental nature of the goal-result.

We may add that the relation of *cuman* (whither): *becuman* (where) is quite like this, with *gecuman* only in unusual types of coming.

2. *lædan*

Of *lædan:gelædan*, Lenz (p. 32) says, "ganz willkürlich gebraucht"; Hesse (p. 37) cites the passages from Bede, but discusses only a few of them.

a) Without goal the simple verb is used: *gif se blindas ðone blindan lædeð* (*P* 28, 8); *ond his nauht mid him ne læddon* (*P* 332, 19). (So, *ancorlif lædde* [*B* 360, 22]; *se ðe me lædde* [*B* 424, 19]).

b) Intransitively the simple verb: *ðæt is swiðe rum weg ond widgille ðe læt to forwyrde* (*P* 132, 20).

c) When a direction or road, not a definite goal, is given, the simple verb is used: *ða hiene mon wið Rome weard lædde*

(O 248, 7); *ðæt he hiene mehte lædan ðurh ðæt westen* (O 286, 16; P 304, 7); *læd hie giond ðin land* (P 372, 5).

d) Even when a definite goal (whither) is reached, the simple verb is generally used. Most of the examples would, according to Hesse's, and perhaps the generally accepted opinions about Old Germanic verbs, demand the compound, since in Slavic or in modern colloquial English they would have punctual verb-form (*led*, once, not *was leading* or *led*, repeatedly): *sum on Mæcedonie lædde* (O 208, 16), some captives; *ða nawðer ne hine ða eft ham lædan ne dorston ðe hiene ðider læddon, ne . . .* (O 218, 33), the second might have had perfectic *ge-*, but is to be taken as a merely identifying relative clause; *ond mon lædde Aristobolus to Rome gebundenne* (O 238, 13); *he lædde Athanarius hiora cyning mid him to Constantinopolim ðære byrig* (O 292, 10); *ða he lædde ða elðeodgan ærendracan on his maðmhus* (P 38, 3); *ðone gewundedan ðe mon lædde healfcwicne to ðæm giesthuse* (P 124, 8). (So, B 34, 28, where the 'punctual' bothers Hesse; B 98, 30; 314, 32.) *Done wildfarendan ond ðone wædlan læd on ðin hus* (P 314, 14), 'induc in domum tuam.'

In the one example where *gelædan* appears, it stresses the successful bringing to an unusual and important goal: *oð hio hiene gelædde on an micel slæd* (O 76, 29), 'until she had got him into a bog.'

e) But as a technical term for leading an army to a place or against someone, *gelædan* is universal: *ond wið ðæm nefan fird gelædde* (O 52, 32); *mid eallum ðæm mægene ðe he ðærtō gelædan mehte* (O 80, 24); *ond his fierd gelædde on an oðer fæstre land* (O 80, 29); *ond raðe ðæs Atheniense gelæddon XXX M folces ond twa hund scipa angean Antigone ðæm cyninge* (O 144, 20; 72, 25; 76, 4; 118, 24; 138, 33; 174, 31; 182, 33; 196, 14; 200, 13, etc. So B 102, 29; 200, 29; *ðætte Æðelred Mercna cyning gelædde wærge weorod ond Cent forhergode* [B 298, 14], 'adducto maligno exercitu,' perfectic, 'had led'). This may be

a reflex of the ancient meaning of *ge-* (Lat. *con-*, as in nouns); so, surely, *ond heora folc togædere gelæddon* (O 180, 26).

Hence the simple verb is very expressive in *ond ðæt folc buton truman lædde swa he wiste ðæt ðæt oðer wæs* (O 188, 14), not in military form and without goal; misquoted by Lenz, page 32. (*Se ylca cyning gedyrstiglice here lædde to forhergianne Peohta mægðe . . . ða gelædde he hwæðre here in Peohtas* [B 356, 31], the first example without goal, then an impediment is stated, then *gelædan* with goal; this example shows the transition to aspectual use.)

f) With abstract goals the form is *gelædan*; cf. *bringan*, above, but the *ge-* is not compulsory: *ðæt ða godan lareowas ða halgan gesomnunge beoð lærende ða niewan ond ða ungeleaffullan mod mid hiera lare gelæde to ryhtum geleafan* (P 170, 14), 'bonis doctoribus sanctam Ecclesiam ad rudes infidelium mentes praedicando deducere,' probably read *ond* after *lærende*, or follow MS H; *ðylæs hiene se wærscipe ond se anda gelæde on ealles to micle hatheortnesse* (P 238, 1), the *ge-* probably stressing the extreme character of the goal; *ðæt hi ða gedonan synna gelæden beforan hira modes eagan* (P 413, 15; so B 106, 15; 142, 28; 174, 20; 250, 26; 398, 24; 440, 10).

But the simple verb seems to have been available for stylistic differences. In three examples the goal may have been viewed concretely; moreover, the arrival is still in question: *ða ðe oðerra manna saula underfooð to lædonne to ðæm innemestan halignessum* (P 76, 3); *sum weg ðurh ðone hie mægen lædan ða heortan to ðære lufan ures Scippendes* (P 146, 11); *he teohchode hine to lædanne on lifes weg* (P 305, 5), 'ut dux ei fieri potuisset.' The fourth case is: *ond hine gehæftne lædde on synne gewunan* (P 423, 19); here the stylistic factor may be one of sound: *ge- . . . (ge-) . . . ge-*.

The examples from Bede show two uses that do not occur in O or P: *gelædan* is used for 'escort,' Ger. 'geleiten, begleiten'

(*B* 256, 20; 22; 314, 18; 368, 15); and with inanimate objects (*B* 320, 13, 'rettulerunt'; *B* 418, 17, 'adducta').

3. *metan*

Lenz (p. 54) gives a few examples indiscriminately; Hesse (p. 86) sees no difference.

a) When the subject includes both or all the meeters, the form is *gemetan*, with or without reciprocal-reflexive object (cf. Grimm, II, 833): *ond hie æt Tharse ðære byrig hie gemetton* (*O* 128, 2); *ða hi hi on anre dune gemetton* (*O* 232, 7); *hwær hie hie gemetan wolden* (*O* 144, 35); *ðær ðær hie æt gefeohtum gemette* (*O* 242, 12).

b) When one of the meeters is the subject, the other the object, the normal form is *metan*: *ða mette hiene his ealdgefana sum ond hiene ofstang* (*O* 118, 33); *ðeh ðe hie hiene meðigne on cneowum sittende metten* (*O* 134, 31); *ðeah hiene ðær meten ða nihstan ðæs ofslægenan, ne sleað hie hiene no* (*P* 166, 21); *he mette his feond ond ðeah for Godes ege he hine ne dorste ofslean* (*P* 393, 5); *him wære ðonne ieðre ðæt he hi gearuwe mette* (*P* 433, 31).

Where armies are involved, the simple verb seems to be used when one is viewed as coming upon the other; in both our examples the object has the form merely of the leader's name: *ond ðone cyning æt ðære dune metton* (*O* 78, 25); *ða metton hie Leonantius . . . ond ðær ofslagen wearð* (*O* 144, 28).

The compound always expresses some special circumstance. Thus it is used when two armies, both viewed as mobile, meet each other: *æfter ðæm Ueriatu gemette mid ðrim hunde monna Romana an M on anum wuda* (*O* 216, 18); *Fauius se consul gemette Betuitusan, Gallia cyning, ond hiene mid lytlum fultume ofercom* (*O* 228, 2); I take this to be about the same difference as our 'met' versus 'came upon.'

Hiene gemette an mon . . . ond him sæde ðæt he hiene mehte lædan . . . ac ða he hiene tomiddes ðæs westennes hæfde gelædd

. . . . (O 286, 14), because the man met *and joined* him; contrast O 118, 33, under *b*).

Sihhem geniedde ðæt mæden Dinan ða he hie gemette swa wandrian; swa deð se dioful ðæt mod ðæt he gemet on unnyttum sorgum (P 415, 23); both verbs translate 'inventam' and are perfectic, 'had met has met.' Similarly, *on ðære heriunge gemette se ieldesta ladteow Macheus his agenne sunu mid purpurum gegieredne on biscephade. He hiene ða for ðæm girelan gebealg* (O 164, 30), 'quod occurreret, in crucem suspendit,' probably to be taken as 'had met, having met.'

c) Of coming across a concrete object, the simple verb is normal: *ne mette he ær nan gebun land* (O 17, 23); this could have been perfectic, and in modern English, what with our categoric compulsion, would have to be so, 'had come upon.' For Alfred the perfectic notion was not compulsory; it is easy to see why here, in a generalizing negative statement, he did not choose it. It may be worth noting that Russian would here use a durative verb; in so far as Alfred distinguishes punctual and durative—here, too, he is under no compulsion—he follows the Slavic rather than the modern English distribution; see below, under *feallan*.

Ond eall ðæt moncynn acwealde ðæt he ðærinne mette (O 112, 17); *ðeh hie ðær nan licgende feoh ne metten* (O 116, 32); *ne mette ic no ðin weorc fullfremed beforan minum Gode* (P 445, 21).

Here, too, *ge-* is significant: *on ðæm dæge he gemette ane ea, sio hæfde ungemettlice ceald wæter, seo wæs Ciðnus haten; ða ongan he hine baðian ðæron swa swatigne* (O 124, 29), decidedly perfectic, 'had come upon,' entirely preliminary to the main event. *Ac gif he eft cymð ond ðæt hus idel gemett, he hit gefylleð* (P 282, 24), where we have not an accidental coming upon, but arrival at an intended goal. One may surmise that the everyday locutions lying behind these literary examples were: **he mette an hus*, 'he came upon a house'; **he gemette his hus idel*, 'he found his house empty.'

d) Of abstract subjects and objects only *gemetan* is used: *ðæt he ðurh ða hreowsunga gemete forgifnesse* (P 164, 22), 'ob-tineat'; *ðylæs iow on ðæm weorcum gemete se reða ond se egeslica dæg* (P 316, 12), 'superveniāt in vos'; P 116, 5; 272, 17; 417, 1; 465, 25.

4. *sellan*

Neither Lenz (p. 37) nor Hesse (p. 85) finds any difference between *sellan* and *gesellan*.

a) Without an accusative object the simple verb is used: *ond him mon nyle ðonne sellan* (P 284, 7); *ðæs sellandan mod* (P 324, 14); *sele ælcum ðara ðe ðe bidde* (P 324, 22).

b) So also with pronouns that refer to no definite antecedent: *gif he ðonne færð secende hwæt he sellan scyle* (P 172, 2); *ond him mon ðonne noht ne selle* (P 284, 12); *ðæt ðæt hie sellen* (P 320, 18); *ðylæs hie auht sellen* (P 320, 15); *ðonne selle ic ðe hwæthwugu* (P 324, 1); *ða ðe willað sellan ðæt hie gestrienað* (P 334, 3), and many other examples. With infinitive: *ge me ne saldon drincan* (P 328, 3).

This holds also for general terms such as "thing": *ða ðe hiera agen sellað* (P 176, 5); *hiora agnu ðing* (P 318, 12); *sele ðin god* (P 324, 24); *ðonne we ðæm ðearfum hiora niedðearfe sellað* (P 334, 17); *for ðære gife ðe he him ær sealde* (P 338, 12), the perfectic *ge-* would in any case be avoided in a merely identifying relative clause; so many other examples.

c) With concrete objects, *sellan* is used of giving food and drink: *sealde ðæm munucum corn genog* (O 260, 11); *eac him mon sceolde sellan ða breost ðæs neates* (P 80, 24), and, after this, *ðæt he selle Gode his agne breost, ðæt is his ingeðanc* (P 82, 1), where *ge-* would perhaps have been possible; *ond him selð his hlaf ond his win* (P 326, 4); *ða ðonne ðe hiora hlaf sellað ðæm synnfullum* (P 326, 8); *ac ðonne hwa ægðer ge mete ge hrægl ðearfendum selð* (P 326, 20); *ic him sealde hwæte ond win ond ele, ond gold ond sylofr ic him sealde genoh* (P 368, 5); *ðæt he swa strangne læcedom selle ðæm seocan* (P 455, 29). With infinitive:

ond sealde hie ðæm gewundedum drincan (O 134, 36); *ic sceal sellan eow giet mioloc drincan* (P 459, 18).

A different object: *ond him sealde Iustinus ane cristene boc* (O 266, 21).

But for giving poison (cf. German *eingeben*) the compound is the expressive word: *hie woldon ælcne mon mid atre acwellan, ond hit on mete oððe on drynce to geðicgenne gesellan* (O 108, 28); immediately below, when the poisoners are appropriately punished, we read, *ond ðær wæron geniedde ðæt hie ðæt ilce ðigedan ðæt hie ær oðrum sealdon* (O 110, 2); here the poison is not kept in view, and the pronoun construction of (*b*) is used. *OND him gesealdon ator drincan* (O 136, 15). In *swelce hi hi selfe drencean mid wine ond ðæm oðrum sellen attor* (P 449, 27), we must suppose the emphasis to be not on poisoning, but merely on the unequal distribution.

d) The word *sellan* is used also of giving money, and here too the simple verb is normal: *ðæt he ðæt feoh to sellanne næfde his here swa hie bewuna wæron* (O 116, 15); *ða hie sealdon Demostanase ðæm philosophe licgende feoh wið ðæm ðe he . . .* (O 124, 1); *ðæt he ðæt weorð nolde agan ðæt him mon wið sealde, ac he hit oðrum monnum sealde* (O 198, 18; 210, 4); *ealle ðæt gafol ðæt mon to Rome sellan sceolde* (O 268, 22), of a customary tribute (P 314, 22; 338, 9).

But where money is handed over under an unusual requisition, such as ransom, the compound is used: *ðæt hi geara gehwilce ðone fiftan dæl ealra hiora eorðwæstmæ ðæm cyninge to gafole gesyllað* (O 34, 24), a custom of the Egyptians; *ond ða feawan ðe ðær to lafe wurdon gesealdon M punda goldes wið heora feore* (O 92, 21); *to ðon ðæt hie eall gesealdon ðæt hie ðonne hæfdon wið hiera earman life* (O 214, 19); *Hanna, Pena cyning, mid eallum hio folce wearð Romanum to gafolgiældum ond him ælce geara gesealde twa hund talentana siolfres* (O 170, 27); *on ðæt gerad ðæt hie him gesealden III M talentana ælce geara* (O 180, 13; 202, 22), victor's exaction of tribute; *ðæt hie eall him*

gesealdon ðæt hie ða hæfdon on ðæm færelte to fultume (O 196, 19), citizens' contribution to war chest.

e) Where persons are given, the difference is again that of normal *versus* unusual.

Thus, of giving a woman in marriage, the simple verb is used: *ða he his dohtor Philippuse sealde* (O 112, 11; 118, 27; 30; 244, 29; 30).

Of giving hostages: *ðæt hie sealdon hiera suna to gislum* (O 204, 4; 5; 6; 228, 30).

An interesting case is, *ond ða Cretense hæfdon ðone grimlecan sige, ond ealle ða æðelestan bearn ðara Atheniensa hi genoman ond sealdon ðæm Minotauro to etanne* (O 42, 29); here *genoman* stresses the unusual or violent act, and the following *sealdon* occurs after the victims have been seized, and is viewed as a mere act of giving food; cf. the examples with infinitive under (c), above.

Twice the simple verb is used of the general habit of selling people into slavery: *he hie eac oðrum folcum oftrædlice on ðeowot sealde* (O 112, 30); *hu him ða tida gelicoden ða hie mon slog ond hiende ond on oðru land sealde XX wintra ond C* (O 214, 13); the simple verb stresses the habitual character of the act; cf. under *feallan*, below.

Ordinarily, however, a person or a given group of persons is handed over into slavery by the emphatic verb: *hy genamon Ioseph ond hine gesealdan cipemonnum, ond hi hine gesealdon in Egypta land* (O 34, 2); *sume on hand eodan, ond hie siððan oðrum folcum him wið feo gesealdon* (O 92, 26; 124, 6; 154, 9; 198, 17; 262, 24).

When one gives oneself, the compound is used: *ðylæs he mislicige ðæm (Gode) ðe he hiene ær selfne gesealde* (P 130, 3), 'ut ei placeat cui se probavit,' scarcely a perfectic *ge-*, since in identifying clause; *ond hiene selfne eallenga gesealde ðiossum worldwelum* (P 338, 5), 'se tradidit,' might be perfectic.

f) The compound is used for intrusting, handing over.

Military forces intrusted to a general: *Romane gesealdon Gaiuse Iuliuse seofon legan* (O 238, 16).

Naval forces to an ally: *ond hie him gesealdon an C ðara miclena ðriereðrena* (O 96, 27).

A country to be governed: *ac him Cirus gesealde Ircaniam ða ðeode on anwald to habbanne* (O 54, 11); *his scire . . . ond hie gesealde anum wræccan of Ahtena* (O 96, 23); *ond gesealde his suna ðæt rice* (O 282, 1; 15; 280, 32; 288, 11).

Territory surrendered: *he gesealde Persum Nissibi ða burg ond healf Mesopotamiam ðæt lond* (O 286, 26).

Kingship bestowed: *woldon gesellan Scribanianuse ðæm lateowe hiora cynerice* (O 258, 32).

On the other hand, the simple verb appears twice where it is perhaps a mere question of sharing: *he bebead his twæm sunum ðæt hie ðæs rices ðriddan dæl Geoweorðan sealden* (O 228, 11); *Rufinus wolde habban him self ðone anwold ðær east, ond Stileca wolde sellan his suna ðisne her west* (O 296, 6).

g) With abstract objects the simple verb is the rule: *iowra wedd ond eowre aðas ðe ge him sealdon* (O 122, 13); *ðætte senatus him fultum sealdon* (O 192, 23); *ðæt him mon sealde ðone seofodan consulatum ond eac ðæt gewin* (O 236, 5); *æ* (P 405, 33); *are* (P 56, 7; 260, 12); *bisne* (P 307, 9); *fultom ond mægen* (P 360, 23); *onwald* (P 84, 22); *sibbe* (P 350, 12); *wisdom* (P 459, 29); theological: *eðel* (P 250, 24); *wic ond beteran noman* (P 407, 35).

Here an emphatic handing over is expressed by our two examples with *ge-*: *ðæt mon ne selle his weorðscipe fremdum menn . . . ond his gear geseleð wæltreowum* (P 248, 24), 'honorem itaque suum alienis dat . . . annos etiam suos crudeli tradit,' as though he handed himself over; *ic iow onlæne ða gewitendan, ond ic eow geselle ða ðurhwuniendan* (P 350, 13), 'relinquo transitoriam, do mansuram,' with contrast of *lend* and *give*.

The relation of *giefan*:*agiefan* is much like this. Similarly *niman*:*geniman*, the latter of unusual or violent taking.

5. *feallan*

Lenz (p. 46) has *gefeallan* "ohne dass *ge* vom Sprachgebrauch erheischt wäre"; Hesse (p. 35) cites the examples from Bede without drawing the obvious conclusion.

The verb *feallan* especially well illustrates the OE treatment of aspect. In general Alfred was not, like the speaker of present-day English, forced to express aspect with every verb; in the use of *feallan*, however, he almost always does so, using *gefeallan* for the punctual. In modern English we use the punctual (simple verb) not only for unit action, *he fell and hurt himself*, but also for repeated, habitual, and generalized punctual acts, *he always fell; they never fell*, etc., reserving the durative (*be* with present participle) for genuine durative actions (i.e., those where the segment of time occupied is viewed as a possible container of other acts), *while he was falling; they were always falling*. This same distribution Streitberg found for Gothic and (mistakenly, as modern English shows) took to be the reason why aspect is not categoric (universally carried out) in that language.¹ Hesse (p. 9) blindly assumes the same condition for OE. As a matter of fact, where OE expresses aspect, it reserves the punctual (verb with prefix) for unit action, and classes repeated, habitual, and generalized acts with the durative (uncompounded verb; more explicitly *beon* with present participle), exactly as does Slavic.² This appears very plainly in the verb *feallan*.

a) The simple verb is used of durative and iterative action.

Therefore it predominates in the present tense: *fylð swyðe mycel sæ up in on ðæt lond* (O 19, 18); *gif se blinda ðone blindan lædeð, he feallað begen on anne pyt* (P 28, 9); *hu maniga costunga*

¹ PBB, XV, 114; and *Got. Elb.*⁵⁻⁶, p. 196.

² Cf. Mazon, *Emploi des aspects du verbe russe* (Paris, 1914), p. 101, who, however, unfortunately shares the widespread confusion of punctual with terminative and inceptive; the correct definition is given by Meillet, *Le slave commun* (Paris, 1924), p. 240.

ðæs lytegan feondes him on feallað (P 160, 18); *ðonne feallað ða truman ceastra* (P 244, 23); *ðæt swin, gif hit eft filð on ðæt sol* (P 421, 2).

Present participle: *forðæm ðæt hi ongiten feallende ðæt* (P 439, 15).

Subjunctive: *ðæt he hie forceorfe ær, ær hie on ða eagan feallen* (P 140, 10), generalized, of the way a priest is to cut his hair.

Past: *ðy forman dæge ða folc feollon on ægðere healfe gelice; ðy æfterran dæge Hannibal hæfde sige* (O 198, 4), modern 'were falling' or 'had been falling'; *swa micel eorðbeofung ðæt cludas feollon of muntum* (O 256, 17), 'were falling' or iterative, 'fell (repeatedly).' Once the explicit OE durative: *ond heora fæderum wæron to fotum feallende* (O 66, 2), repeated action. Here, as elsewhere, Alfred's sensitiveness for aspect is such that he tends to take the iterative view when there is a distinct plurality of actors.

b) For a single act viewed as a unit, with no allowance for any other events during the time occupied, Alfred has *gefeallan*. The present is in this sense impossible.

Past: *ond on ðæm gefeohte Meða cræft ond heora duguð gefeoll* (O 52, 29; 150, 1); *ðy ilcan geara gefeoll Babylonia ond eall Asiria rice ond hiora anwald* (O 60, 32; 62, 8; 252, 16); *ðæt on ðæm gefeohte gefeoll* (O 150, 24); *hiora sæd gefeollun on ða ðornas* (P 66, 20); *ða gefeoll se egeslica ehtere* (P 443, 31). The example, *hwelcne demm hie Romanum gefeollan* (O 72, 11), 'quantam reipublicae orbitatem occasu suo intulerit', would have *ge-* in any event, on account of the effected accusative, as Lenz saw (p. 46).

Subjunctive: *sio gestod tuwa seofon hund wintra ær hio gefeolle* (O 252 7).

c) In other than punctualizing use, *ge-* occurs in three passages: *ne gefeolle he næfre on swæ opene scylde, gif he ær ne* (P 234, 2), perfectic, as regularly in past unreal apodosis.

In the other two cases *ge-* emphasizes arrival at a definite goal: *swa eac ða word ðære lare beoð sæd, ond hie gefeallað on ða heortan ðe hiera hlyst* (*P* 96, 1); *ond he ðær ðonne swiðe hefiglice on gefielð* (*P* 463, 17).

Hesse's examples from Bede show the simple verb in the expression, *he him to fotum feoll, he feoll to his fotum*, 'ad pedes accidere,' etc., which does not occur in *O* or *P*.

6. *don*

Lenz (p. 44) points out two uses of *don:gedon*, which Hesse (p. 51) misses.

a) The simple *don* is universal as a substitute verb: *he brycð swiðor on ðone suðdæl ðonne he do on ðone norðdæl* (*O* 24, 27); *ðæt he oðer ðara dyde, oððe . . . oððe . . .* (*O* 114, 23); and many other examples.

To this observation of Lenz's we may add that also with the adverb *swa* (*swelce*) the simple verb is normal: *for ðon hie dydon swa, ðe hie woldon . . .* (*O* 46, 2); *he ða swa dyde* (*O* 54, 23); cf., for the transition, *ond onlicost dydon swelce him næfre ær ðæm . . .* (*O* 140, 10; 290, 13; *P* 6, 8; 102, 9; 114, 12; 122, 4; 150, 18; 156, 12; 234, 19).

Here, however, *gedon* appears in two instances. One is plainly perfectic: *ond ðeh ðe he swa gedyde, ða he ham com, Philippus het . . .* (*O* 206, 27), 'though he had done so.' The other, *ond he ða swa gedyde* (*O* 160, 13), is the execution of a difficult command, 'succeeded in carrying this out,' with *ge-* of remarkable action accomplished. (Similarly, *B* 264, 3.)

b) The compound *gedon* is universal with *ðæt*-clause of result (Lenz, *loc. cit.*): *hy gedoð ðæt oðer bið oferfrozen* (*O* 21, 16), and very many other examples (including Hesse's *B* 360, 19). Hence the passage, *ðæt bið ðonne, ðonne he deð ðæt he ongiæt his agene unnytte ðeawas ond geðohtas* (*P* 258, 13), must be interpreted, 'when he does this, (namely) that he perceives. . . .'

Here Lenz seems to include, without enough definition, the

fact that *gedon* is normal with the accusative of concrete nouns, 'make, cause': *heo gedeð swiðe ðicce eorðwæstmas* (O 12, 36); *ond him Romane gedydan ænne gyldenne sciold* (O 276, 14); *fela martyra* (O 288, 19). (So, *ðas ðing* [B 480, 22], 'digessi,' 'wrote up.')

Simple *don* occurs once: *se mehte don missenlica anlicnessa* (O 54, 20), of generalized action, an emphatically durative turn of speech, in the Slavic sense.

With the accusative of abstracts this use of *gedon* 'cause' is different from that with inner accusative, see below (f): *hio gedeð ðæt ilce ðæt sio micle wund gedeð* (P 437, 18); *ond ðær ðær hie næron hie gedydon ðone mæstan ege* (O 142, 19); and so probably, *swelce niwe ræads welce hie fol oft ær gedydan* (O 184, 2), but this would in any case have perfectic *ge-*, which makes the following ambiguous: *ne gedyde næfre se mildheorta Dryhten ne an his mode ne gebrohte welce hreowsunga, gif he . . .* (P 415, 1), where only the context shows that it is 'would have caused such repentance,' since in any case perfectic *ge-* would be natural.

Similarly, *gedon* is normal with accusative and *to* plus dative: *ond hy ealle to nydlingum him gedydon* (O 34, 34); *to gafolgiældum* (O 122, 25; 124, 7); *to halgum martyrum* (O 274, 5; so also B 456, 2).

Here also once *don*: *ond hine to cyninge don woldon* (O 260, 1), where the act is in the sequel not carried out; haplographic omission seems unlikely since the prefix is usually abbreviated.

Another case which may belong here is: *us gedyde to witanne* (O 126, 31).

c) A third easily definable type is *don* with accusative and prepositional phrase, of putting into a concrete place: *hiene mon dyde siððan on carcern* (O 230, 29); *don his hond to ðære sylg* (P 403, 2; so also O 54, 25; 156, 7; 246, 24; 286, 12). The Roman triumph is so viewed: *ða dyde mon ðone triumphan him beforan* (O 138, 22; 216, 30), 'placed it before him.' From a

place: *ðæt nan man ðone æstel from ðære bec ne doe* (*P* 8, 2). (A use not in *O* or *P* is *gedon* of putting bones into a casket, *on cyste, on ðruh* [*B* 182, 32; 296, 24; 374, 23; 376, 29]; after this, *B* 320, 3; only once *don* [*B* 184, 19]; not to be included, with Hesse, in the general use, but a special idiom, perhaps modeled upon the *be-* with verbs of inclosing or burying, cf. the parallelism *becuman:gebringan*. In *B* 156, 20, the *ge-* is emphatic.)

d) This brings us to the more abstract types. One must remember that the actual usage was familiar to every five-year-old child; the scantiness, and, especially in abstract turns of phrase, the literary character of our examples fails to reveal (and may even belie) the clear-cut colloquial usage. Viewing the examples as a whole, one gets the impression that the underlying habit of actual speech was here (in contrast with the preceding specialized idioms) merely the normal Alfredian use of verbal *ge-*.

With accusative and predicate adjective we may surmise that the simple verb does not stress the attainment, and normally but not necessarily corresponds to the Slavic durative: *ond ðætte he on nanum ðingum hiene betran ne doo* (*P* 106, 11), generalized action (so, *P* 112, 24); *Philippus him dyde heora wig unweorð, oð hiene an cwene sceat* (*O* 118, 2), Slavic durative; *ond hiene dyde oðrum monnum swæ ungelicne* (*P* 112, 14), habit of the king. In this sense we must probably interpret the examples in *P* 76, 2; 116, 18; 214, 10.

Here *gedon* doubtless stresses the attainment, 'render': *for ðon ðe hie ða ane burg welge gedydan* (*O* 214, 8); *ealle ða gesetnessa ðe ðær to stronge wæron ond to hearde, he hie ealle gedyde leohtran ond liðran* (*O* 244, 15); so also probably *P* 212, 1; 238, 2; 336, 17; 453, 23. Examples in the present tense: *ond gedeð ða spræce unnytte ðæm tohlystendum* (*P* 96, 18; so also *P* 52, 14; 306, 16; 401, 36).

e) With accusative and abstract goal the question of attainment does not seem to enter, and aspect seems decisive. The

simple verb corresponds to the Slavic durative (including, therefore, repeated action): *se cyning het don to geblote ealle ða cuman ðe hiene gesohtan* (O 1, 19); *ða ðe mon to hierran hade don wille* (P 6, 14); *ond hie for nauht doð* (P 270, 22), 'hold them as naught'; *ond dyde him ægðer to gewealdon* (O 112, 25); so we must judge O 114, 29; P 120, 19.

For simple past acts, *gedon*: *ic ofslog ðis folc ond to forlore gedyde* (P 266, 4); *ealle Mæðe on Persa anwald gedyde* (O 62, 3); *ond hie ealle him to gewildum gedydan* (O 154, 6; 52, 28); infinitive of simple unit act: *ðæt hie mehton ægðer ge ðone cyning ge ða cuene him to gewildum gedon* (O 148, 10; 72, 7). An exception, perhaps, is, *ealle ða cuman he to blote gedyde* (O 40, 22). If there is a stylistic factor in the contrast *don to geblote*: *gedon to blote* and *gedon on anweald*: *don to gewealdon*, it is probably the form of the noun which depends on that of the verb; but cf. *gedon to gewildum*.

f) With adverbs (e.g., *wel*) and with accusative of action (*god, yfel, gefeaht, god weorc, hwæt godes, hwæt to gode*), both often with dative of person, the normal uses of *ge-* seem to hold: *ðæt he on ðæm folgoðe wille wel don* (P 56, 24), habitually; *ðæt hie wiers ne don* (P 188, 18); *gif he hwæt yfeles deð* (P 110, 5); *eall ða yfel ðe hi donde wæron* (O 42, 6), explicit durative; *ond wepende mænde ða unare ðe him mon dyde* (O 240, 10), 'was doing'; and so in a vast number of examples.

Simple unit past acts have punctualizing *ge-*: *God gedyde his miltsunge on Romanum, ða ðe he . . .* (O 296, 28); *ðæt an gefeoht ðæt eow Gotan gedydon* (O 142, 8); so in infinitive and subjunctive, of unit acts: *biddende ðæt hie ðæs gewinnes sumne ende gedyden* (O 66, 3); *he ða Alexander him anum deadum lytle mildheortnesse gedyde, ðe he siððan nanum ende his cynne gedon nolde* (O 128, 17). Perfectic: *eal ðæt we ær yfles gedydon* (P 258, 21); *eall ðæt he ær to gode gedyde* (P 463, 13; contrast *don* in merely identifying clause: *ðæs yfeles ðe hit ær dyde* [O 90, 3]; *he him cidde for ðæm ðe hi ær dydon* [P 443, 5]); *ðone dæg ðe he*

noht on to gode ne gedyde (O 264, 3). Remarkable action: *ðæt sint ða forman læddo ðe hie Gode gedon mægen* (P 338, 7); *se mid ðon ðe he Egypte oferwon, gedyde ðæt nan hæðen cyning ær gedon ne dorste, ðæt wæs ðæt he . . .* (O 78, 3). Thus we must interpret other examples, some of which may seem indifferent or even contrary; an extreme case: *ond Olimpiade feng to ðæm rice, ond ðæm folce fela laðes gedyde ða hwile ðe hio ðone anweald hæfde* (O 148, 14); both in modern English and in Slavic (Mazon, *op. cit.*, p. 218) the punctual is possible in such a sentence: *She did much harm during the time she was in power*, different from *was doing . . .*; it may be also that remarkable action is meant, German *einem etwas antun*, or even 'managed to do.'

7. *weorðan*

Hesse (p. 85), laboring under the notion that *weorðan* is a 'simple punctual verb' and *ge-* merely a punctualizing prefix, sees no difference between *weorðan* and *geweorðan*. Lenz does not deal with the word.

a) With past participle, in the sense of the Latin passive, only the simple verb occurs: *ne mehton gesemedede weorðan* (O 64, 34), and many other examples.

b) With *to* plus dative only the simple verb is used: *ac heora hryre wearð Ahtenum to arærnesse* (O 98, 8); *wurde siððan to ðæm ðe hit meahte* (P 234, 10), 'come what may'; O 12, 28; 32, 15, etc. So also *to lafe weorðan*, 'be left' (O 32, 19; 36, 16, etc.).

Similarly in the one case with predicate noun: *ðæt hie ne weorðen ealdormen* (P 62, 18).

c) With predicate adjective the simple verb is normal: *hie swiðe torn wyrdon* (O 54, 2); *æfter ðæm Xersis wearð his agenre ðeode swiðe unweorð* (O 84, 23); so also O 30, 8; 34, 7; 44, 29; 68, 6; 72, 32; P 4, 23; 66, 24, and other cases. Once an adverb predicate: *forbead ðæt hit ne scolde swa weorðan* (P 212, 25); so probably the obscure case: *swa eac swilce wearð Romeburg . . . ðætte hiere ealdormon ond Gotona cyning hiere onwaldes*

hie beniman woldon (O 62, 21); the clause to be taken as an added explanation, breaking up the unified Lat. 'similiter Roma a Gothis et Alarico irrupta'; an exact translation would demand *weorðan* with past participle, and 'happen' would demand the dative *Romebyrg*. Prepositional phrase predicate: *and eft he wearð on his agenum gewitte, ond cwæð . . .* (P 272, 15; so also O 108, 25; P 194, 12).

Only four examples of *ge-* occur in this construction: *Pentesilia, sio on ðæm gefeohte swiðe mære gewearð* (O 48, 3); *seo stow gewearð swiðe mære, ond giet todæge is* (O 120, 20); *for ðon, siððan hie welegran wæron, hie eac bleaðran gewurdon* (O 84, 22); these look as if a permanent change took *ge-*, i.e., as if the colloquial background were **he wearð torn*, but **he gewearð mære*. But some of our examples contradict this: simple verb with *rice* (P 286, 23); *unbald* (P 286, 24); and our remaining example of *ge-* does not exactly fit this: *geweorðe min lif swelce ðissa ryhtwisena, ond geweorðe min ende swelce hira* (P 423, 13).

d) For 'occur, take place,' the word is *geweorðan* whenever the subject has the form of a clause or a pronoun: *gewearð ðæt Moyses lædde Israhela folc of Egyptum* (O 36, 23); *on ðæm dagum ðe ðis gewearð* (O 194, 33), and many other examples.

e) For 'occur' with noun subjects both forms are used. One may suppose that the simple verb rather envisages the act without any special point of attainment: *ond wearð sibb ond frið ofer ealne middangeard* (O 106, 21); the compound, cf. (d), rather the point of occurrence: *ac frine hie mon ðonne æfter hu monegum wintrum sio sibb gewurde* (O 182, 17). The simple verb is used of natural events: *eorðwela* (O 32, 25); *waterflood*, plural (O 36, 7); *hunger* (O 88, 17); *eorðbeofung* (O 160, 28; 184, 23); *ðeosternes ond eorðbeofung* (O 256, 16); *hryras* (O 184, 25); *ren* (O 194, 20); among these are the only plurals with which the simple verb is used. The compound prevails with plural subjects: *wundor* (O 160, 17; 188, 21; 24; 234, 1); *tacen* (O 248, 13); *gefeoh* (O 208, 20); *gewinn* (O 218, 21); *moncwealmas* (O 52, 12);

yfel (O 128, 21); *hergiunga* (O 128, 26). With singulars, of portents: *wundor* (O 260, 8); *tacen* (O 258, 30); abstract: *ða hreowsung ðe him ða gewearð* (O 38, 21); *sædon ðæt under hiera anwalde nan bismerelecre dæd ne gewurde* (O 220, 21), perhaps remarkable action, or perfectic. In themselves, one sees no difference between *wearð gefeoht* (O 42, 26), *gewinn* (O 50, 9; 64, 31; 92, 4), and *gewearð gewinn* (O 208, 5; 210, 15).

f) Impersonally with accusative always *geweorðan*: *hie gewearð ðæt hie wolden . . .* (O 178, 7, etc).

8. *faran*

As the commonest verb of locomotion, *faran* shows some specialized uses.

a) When no goal is mentioned, the simple verb is normal: *ða scipa ðe hie on farende wæron* (O 84, 17), explicit durative; so O 76, 28; 130, 20; *far mid us* (P 304, 11); *ic nelle mid ðe faran* (P 304, 13); *siððan he from his agnum ham for* (O 17, 24); and many other examples.

So also when a mere direction is given: *ond wið Alexandres for* (O 126, 11); *ðæt he hamweard fore* (O 82, 29); *for he forð bie ðæm scræfe* (P 196, 13), and many other cases.

The few examples of *gefaran* in this construction are perfectic; the locomotion is stated merely as a completed preliminary to a more important act in the new scene: *hie geforan mid firde angean Hannibal, ac he hie mid ðæm ilcan wrence beswac ðe . . .* (O 188, 31), 'contra Annibalem missi, . . . perdidierunt', 'had gone'; *he gefor mid firde ongean Aristonocuse ðæm cyninge* (O 224, 3), followed by statement of circumstances, then O 224, 9: *ond ðehhwæðre se consul wearð gefliemed*, 'missus, . . . victus est'; *sona ðæs gefor Sempronius se consul mid firde wið Pencentes . . . ða wearð . . .* (O 160, 26). So probably, *ðæt he gefore of Hæðum* (O 19, 32), 'had sailed.'

b) Even with a goal the simple verb is common.

Thus for durative action: *ond siððan wæs farende ðær ðæs*

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cyninges modor wuniende wæs ; hio ða seo cwen (O 76, 20), 'was marching'; *ða he æst ðider mid firde farende wæs, ða gewicade he* (O 174, 2), 'iter faciens'; so O 44, 6. As in Slavic, repeated action is durative: *swa feor norð swa ða hwæl-huntan firrest farað* (O 17, 12); *ðonne hie on gewin foron* (O 154, 18), 'whenever'; *he eac oftrædlice for on Sciððie ða norðland* (O 30, 2).

c) Even for what in Slavic and in modern English would be simple punctual action, the simple verb is common when there is no particular stress on the goal: *swiðost he for ðider for ðæm horschwalum* (O 17, 35); *ða for he ðider ond ðæt rice to him geniedde* (O 158, 14); even, *hie siððan on ðæm sæ togædere foran ond ðær swa ungemetlice gefuhton* (O 96, 31); here the acts are viewed as co-ordinate, 'went and fought'; *ac ic wille faran to minre cyððe* (P 304, 12); *ða ne dorste he nawuht hrædlice ut of ðære ceastre faran up on ða muntas* (P 397, 34); *Loth for ut of Sodomān to Segor* (P 399, 9), 'exiit.' So especially of military expeditions where the enemy is mentioned as goal: *ond siððan for an Sciððie* (O 116, 18; 126, 19; 130, 33).

Here, however, *gefaran* appears when the goal and the arrival are important or unusual: *ond ða on dæg he mehte cuman to ealra Romana anwealde, ðær he forð gefore to ðære byrg* (O 190, 11), 'si ad pervadendam Urbem contendisset,' which is also perfectic; *he gefor on Indie, ðær nan mon ær ne siððan mid firde gefaran ne dorste buton Alexandre* (O 150, 18; so also O 30, 20; 196, 11; 208, 25); by this we must judge of *in Sciððie mid firde gefor* (O 130, 6), 'bellum inferre ausus est.'

In other instances *gefaran* is perfectic: *ond hie raðe ðæs forbaernnan het ðe he to lande gefor* (O 168, 27). Even in less evident cases *gefor* before another action merely gives the setting: *æfter ðæm Himelco gefor mid firde an Sicilie, ond him ðær becom* (O 166, 5), 'cum in Sicilia bellum gereret,' 'had gone'; *ond oðer consul se gefor on Liparis ðæt iglond ða ofslog he hiene* (O 172, 6), 'cum Liparam insulam petiit.' So we must

judge, e.g., *he gefor on Capadotiam ðæt lond, ond ðær* (O 114, 7).

d) For an important or strongly envisaged goal, with actual arrival, usually hostile, *geforan* with accusative is also used (Lenz, *op cit.*, p. 45): *geforan Roðum ðæt igland* (O 32, 20); *ðæt lond* (O 44, 25); *ond ðeah ne dorste he geneðan ðæt he hie mid firde gefore* (O 46, 32); *ond heora burg gefor ond ðæt folc mid ealle fordyde* (O 114, 2).

e) Normal for Alfredian *ge-* are the uses with other accusatives: of the action, *ond ðæt færelt swa ðeh gefor* (O 140, 3); effected accusative, *se swelc plioh ðæron gefor* (P 393, 9); *for ðæm bismere ðe hie ær æt him geforan* (O 122, 23); *gif ic eft gefare swelcne sige æt Romanum* (O 156, 31); of extent, *ond ungeliefedlicne micelne weg on ðæm dæge gefor* (O 124, 27).

f) In the sense of 'die' always *geforan* (O 78, 30, etc.).

Another specialized use may be: *heora wise on nænne sæl wel ne gefor* (O 164, 13).

TERMS AND PHRASES FOR THE SEA IN OLD ENGLISH POETRY

9

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I

The very nature of Old English, as of Old Norse verse demanded a wealth of synonyms for any subject that was at all likely to appear with any frequency; and it is safe to say that there is hardly a single poem dating from the OE period in which the sea does not play some part or at least receive some mention. Hence it is not surprising that of all the subjects for which the OE poet multiplied terms and phrases, it is the sea that is expressed with the greatest variety. In a recent article,¹ Professor H. C. Wyld has dwelt upon various aspects of the art of the OE poet, and has devoted one section to the part played by the sea in our early poetry and the diction and imagery used by the poets in connection with it. In passing reluctantly from the subject of the sea and ships, he says, "A whole article might easily be devoted to the Anglo-Saxon poets' treatment of them." In the following pages I have attempted to deal, not with the whole treatment of the sea in OE poetry—that, I fear, would demand not one, but many articles—but with one aspect of it, namely, the actual vocabulary employed. Even so, space forbids more than an outline study.

II

Before passing to a consideration of the compounds and phrases, often partially or wholly metaphorical, by which the sea may be described, we may first glance at the various single

¹ H. C. Wyld, "Diction and Imagery in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, Vol. XI.

uncompounded terms that the OE poet had at his disposal. The number of these is far greater than a cursory inspection would lead one to suppose. As Professor Wyld has pointed out, each of these undoubtedly had its particular significance in the earlier stages of the language, though in many cases this has now become obscured. In some cases, however, the original meaning is still discernible, and it often happens that the earlier significance of the word is retained in prose while only the more general sense can be inferred from the occurrence of the word in poetry. Cognates in other languages, too, particularly in ON, are often of value in an attempt to trace the original meaning. In his pursuit of synonyms, two courses are open to the poet: he can either take a word of wider and more general meaning and narrow it down to the particular sense that he has to express; or, by an opposite process, he can take a word of comparatively limited significance and use it in a more general sense. By the first of these processes, a word originally meaning water of any kind may become a synonym for sea, while by the second the sea may be expressed by a word whose original meaning was only a channel or a wave.

In this extended use of simple terms, the poet is pursuing exactly the same path as that which he follows when coining descriptive phrases or kennings, the only difference being that he has not yet proceeded quite so far. The same motive is there—the need for variety, which could best be satisfied by a figurative or partially figurative use of language. By a slight stretch of imagination the poet can picture the sea as ‘water,’ ‘a channel,’ ‘waves,’ or ‘a current of water’; it is but a further step in the same process when he visualizes it as ‘the ships’ road,’ or ‘the seagulls’ home.’

No fewer than twenty-four single terms may be found in OE poetry with the sense of ‘sea.’ The frequency with which they occur varies very greatly, some being extremely rare. I have throughout this essay, in dealing with simple terms, compounds,

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and phrases, noted the poems in which they are to be found. I shall now consider the simple terms in rather more detail.

1. *Sæ*. [*Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Elene*, *Guðlac*, *Crist*, *Andreas*, *Riddles*, *Wanderer*, *Seafarer*, *Azarias*, *The Soul to the Body*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Phœnix*, *Psalms*, *Hymns*, *Exeter Gnomes*, *Alfred's Metra*.]

Here the interpretation offers no difficulty, as there is no implied metaphor. Like its ON cognate *sjór* or *sær*, the word is the common one in prose and poetry for 'sea.'

2. *Zeofon*, *zeofen*, *zifen*. [*Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Andreas*, *Phœnix*, *Riddles*, *Elene*, *Exeter Gnomes*.]

This is another general term of frequent occurrence in OE poetry, though in this case ON affords no parallel. It is generally used to denote a wide expanse of sea or the ocean.

3. *Heafu*, *heafu*. [*Beowulf*, and doubtfully in the *Husband's Message*.]

This is the OE cognate of ON *haf*, one of the most frequent terms for 'sea.' In OE, however, it is comparatively rare. *Beowulf* has both forms, and the doubtful form *hofu* occurs in the *Husband's Message*.

4. *Mere*. [*Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Husband's Message*, *Brunanburh*, *Andreas*, *Menologium*, *Psalms*, *Exeter Gnomes*, *Alfred's Metra*.]

This word, cognate with ON *marr*, is not infrequently used by OE poets in the general sense of 'sea.' But, unlike its Norse cognate, it is also frequently found with the meaning of 'pool' or 'lake.'

5. *Lazu*, *lazo*. [*Beowulf*, *Elene*, *Exodus*, *Genesis*, *Riddles*, *Seafarer*, *Andreas*, *Husband's Message*, *Bi Domes Dæge*, *Phœnix*, *Rune Poem*, *Alfred's Metra*.]

This word, like its ON cognate *logr*, probably had the general meaning of 'water.' It is fairly frequent in OE poetry, but is used not only with the meaning of 'sea' but also in the more general sense of 'water,' whether that of sea, lake, or river. In both ON and OE it is used to denote 'water' as contrasted with 'land' in the parallel phrases *lopt og logr* and *lyft ond lazu*.

6. *Water*. [*Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Elene*, *Daniel*, *Riddles*, *Wife's Lament*, *Brunanburh*, *Maldon*, *Cottonian Gnomes*, *Azarias*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Crist*, *Andreas*, *Bi Domes Dæge*, *Panther*, *Juliana*, *Psalms*, *Alfred's Metra*, *Salomon and Saturn*.]

Like *lazu*, this is a general term for 'water' frequently used by OE poets as a synonym for 'sea.' The ON cognate *vatn* is, however, used only in the general sense of 'water' and the particular sense of 'lake.'

7. *Strēam*. [*Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Genesis*, *Riddles*, *Seafarer*, *Husband's Message*, *Judith*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Crist*, *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Phœnix*, *Alfred's Metra*, *Psalms*, *Salomon and Saturn*.]

This word appears originally to have meant 'a current,' and, like its ON cognate *straumr*, is frequently used in this sense. But in OE poetry the singular is occasionally and the plural very frequently used to denote 'sea.'

8. *Flōd*. [*Beowulf*, *Elene*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Maldon*, *Genesis*, *Crist*, *Bi Domes Dæge*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Andreas*, *Psalms*.]

This word, cognate with ON *flóð*, had an original significance of 'flood' or 'tide,' and is common in this sense. But it is also fairly frequently used, both in the singular and in the plural *flōdas*, as a general term for 'sea.'

9. *Holm*. [*Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Wanderer*, *Azarias*, *Harrowing of Hell*, *Crist*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Whale*, *Andreas*, *Psalms*, *Exeter Gnomes*.]

This word, both in the singular and in the plural *holmas*, is another term for the sea that is frequently used by the OE poet. The original significance of this word and of its ON cognate *holmr* (= 'island') has been thoroughly discussed by Professor Wyld, who traces the development of these widely differing meanings in the two languages to an original meaning of 'a swelling, or rising, thing' (Lat. *culmen*). Hence might easily arise the diverse meanings of 'rising or swelling water' and 'land rising up from the water.'

10. *Sund*. [*Beowulf*, *Elene*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Azarias*, *Whale*, *Andreas*.]

This is a somewhat puzzling word in both OE and ON since in both languages it is found with the meaning either of 'swimming' or a 'piece of water.' From the second of these arise the meanings of 'a strait' in ON and OE, and of 'sea' or 'water' in OE. The meaning of 'swimming' may well be the original one, from which could arise the idea of a piece of water across which one might swim. Thence the transition to 'a strait,' and so to the general meaning of 'sea' is easy to follow.

11. *Wadu*, *wado*, *wædo*. [*Beowulf*, *Riddles*, *Andreas*.]

These are various forms of the plural of *wæd*. The word (ON *vað*) meant originally 'shallow water over which one might go' (*wadan*), hence 'a ford.' It is comparatively rare in the sense of 'sea.'

12. *Ford*. [*Beowulf*.]

This means a 'narrow inlet' (ON *fjörðr*) or 'ford,' and occurs in one passage in *Beowulf* in the sense of 'sea.'

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13. *Želād*. [*Crist*, *Andreas*, *Guðlac*.]

This word, meaning 'a path,' is used occasionally alone in the sense of 'sea,' though generally it is qualified by an adjective or a dependent noun.

14. *Flot*. [*Maldon*, *Brunanburh*.]

This word (ON *flot*) probably meant 'water fit to float upon.'

15. *Dȳp*, *dēop*. [*Riddles*, *Psalms*.]

Dȳp = 'the deep thing' is found once in the *Riddles*, while the related form *dēop*, plural *dēopas*, occurs in the *Psalms*.

16. *Brim*, plural *brimu*, *brimo*, *breomo*, *brymmas*. [*Beowulf*, *Elene*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Brunanburh*, *Cottonian Gnomes*, *Azarias*, *Andreas*, *Menologium*, *Panther*, *Psalms*, *Death of King Edward*.]

This word is common in OE poetry in the sense of 'sea.' But the original sense, retained in the ON cognate *brim*, is that of 'surf' or 'surge.' When used as a synonym for 'sea,' it appears both in the singular and in the plural. *Andreas* has a plural form *breomu*, and the late form *brymmas* occurs once in the chronicle poem, the *Death of King Edward*.

17. *Fām*. [*Riddles*.]

Here the sense-development is parallel to that of *brim*; the original meaning is 'foam.'

18. *Hrycg*. [*Crist*.]

This word (ON *hryggr*), literally 'a back' or 'a ridge,' is used in one passage in *Crist* to denote 'the sea.' The use of the word in a phrase with this meaning is not uncommon, but the use of the simple term is rare.

19. *Ȫð*, *ȳðe*, plural *ȳða*. [*Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Elene*, *Riddles*, *Husband's Message*, *Cottonian Gnomes*, *Azarias*, *Crist*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Andreas*, *Psalms*, *Metra*, *Salomon and Saturn*.]

This word (ON *unnr*, *uðr*) is one of a number of words for 'wave' that either in the singular or the plural are frequently used in OE poetry to denote 'the sea.'

20. *Wāȳ*, *weȳ*. [*Beowulf*, *Wanderer*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Riddles*, *Seafarer*, *Genesis*, *Crist*, *Bi Monna Cræftum*, *Azarias*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Phœnix*, *Whale*, *Andreas*, *Psalms*.]

This word (ON *vágr*), with an original meaning of 'movement' or 'a moving thing,' is, like *ȳð*, usually found in the sense of 'wave,' but is not infrequently used with the more general meaning of 'sea.'

21. *Hærn*. [*Andreas*.]

This word (ON *hrönn*), also meaning 'a wave' is a rare word in OE, though fairly common in ON. It occurs in the sense of 'sea' in one passage in *Andreas*.

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22. *Gārsecg*. [*Beowulf*, *Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Genesis*, *Wonders of Creation*, *Phænix*, *Whale*, *Andreas*, *Psalms*, *Hymns*, *Metra*, *Rune Poem*.]

This word, not uncommon in OE poetry as a term for 'sea' or 'ocean,' is of doubtful origin. It has been explained as a kenning meaning 'spear-man,' the sea being personified as a spear-armed warrior. If this is so, it is the one instance among the OE terms for the sea, of the mythological type of kenning so frequent in ON Skaldic verse; but the explanation is open to doubt.

23. *Faroð*. [*Beowulf*, *Hymns*.]

Here again the meaning is doubtful. The word occurs in one passage in *Beowulf* and one in the *Hymns* apparently with the meaning of 'sea'; but elsewhere it seems rather to mean 'shore.'

24. *Eolet*. [*Beowulf*.]

This is a doubtful word, occurring in one passage in *Beowulf* where it may possibly mean 'sea,' though the context admits of other explanations; the first part of the word may possibly be connected with *ēa* (= 'river' or 'water').

III

Some interesting points arise in connection with the adjectives most frequently used to qualify the simple terms enumerated above. Often in his use of adjectives the OE poet is merely conventional; but this is by no means always the case, and he often displays fine imaginative touches.

Of the adjectives denoting color, that which is most often used to describe the sea is *fealu*. The exact force of this adjective has been so ably discussed by Professor Wyld that I cannot do better than quote here what he has said:

The word *fealu* is given in OE glossaries as equivalent to Latin *gilvus*, *flavus*, *fulvus*, and even to *rubicundus*. It is applied in OE to things as different as withered leaves and blossoms, fire, horses, and the horn of an ox. The word apparently expresses various shades of yellow, from pale to ruddy, and may probably be best translated 'dun' or 'tawny' when applied to the sea.

Though in some cases the adjective is used only conventionally, with little regard to context, at other times it is vivid and forceful, giving a realistic picture of heaving water under a rainy and sunless sky. Instances of its use are *fealone flōd* (*Beowulf*,

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Brunanburh, *Andreas*); *fealone strēam* (*Andreas*); *fealone wēȝ* (*Bi Monna Cræftum*); *fealwe wēȝas* (*Wanderer*, *Andreas*).

Other color adjectives are *wonn*, *brūn*, *deorc*, *hār*, *flintgræȝ*, and *scīr*. The phrases *wonne wēȝas* and *wonne wælstrēamas* are both found in *Genesis*; *ȝð sið brūne* in the *Husband's Message*; *brūne ȝða* in *Andreas*; *deorc wæter* in the *Psalms*; *brime hāran* in the *Menologium*; the fine phrase *flintgræȝne flōd* in the *Riddles*; *scīr wæter* in the *Battle of Maldon*. As usual, the OE poet is generally content to concentrate on the stormy and cloudy aspects of nature; only rarely, as in the one passage in the *Battle of Maldon*, does he attempt to picture the brightness of sunlit water. In the same way, his sea is often that of winter, cold and even frozen. *Ceald* and its compounds *sinceald*, *hrimceald*, and *īsceald* are frequently used in such phrases as *cald wæter* (*Crist*, *Maldon*, *Andreas*); *cealde brymmas* (*Death of King Edward*); *sincalda sē* (*Exodus*); *hrimcealde sē* (*Wanderer*); *īscealde sē* (*Metra*), *īscealdne sē* (*Seafarer*); and *īscealdne wēȝ* (*Seafarer*). The stormy nature of the sea is pictured in such phrases as *frēcne strēam* (*Crist*); *brim grymetende* (*Panther*); *windȝe holmas* (*Crist*); *hrēo wēȝas* (*Azarias*, *Andreas*); and *hrēone hrycg* (*Crist*).

The more conventional adjectives are those describing the depth, the extent, the saltiness, or the foamy nature of the sea. There is often little force in these, though at times the adjective gives greater significance to the noun; but often the whole phrase is a kind of loose compound, where a noun of either wider or narrower meaning is made to express 'the sea' by being combined with an adjective such as *sealt*. Instances of these adjectives are *dēop wæter* (*Beowulf*, *Brunanburh*, *Genesis*, *Azarias*, *Psalms*, *Salomon and Saturn*); *dēopa sē* (*Psalms*); *dēop zelād* (*Crist*, *Andreas*, *Guðlac*); *hēan strēamas* (*Seafarer*); *hēah hofu* (*Husband's Message*); *hēahne holm* (*Harrowing of Hell*); *hēanne holm* (*Elene*, *Wanderer*); *hēa holmas* (*Azarias*); *wīd wæter* (*Beowulf*); *wīdne holm* (*Bi Monna Cræftum*); *wīdne mere*

(*Andreas*); *brād wæter* (*Psalms*, *Salomon and Saturn*); *brāde brimu* (*Brunanburh*); *brādan brime* (*Azarias*); *brāda sǣ* (*Crist*); *sīd wæter* (*Genesis*); *sīde sǣflōdas* (*Psalms*); *sīd sǣ* (*Psalms*); *sīdne sǣ* (*Phænix*, *Crist*); *rūman sǣ* (*Metra*); *wīdfæðme wǣz* (*Andreas*); *sealt wæter* (*Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Azarias*, *Psalms*); *sealte flōdas* (*Psalms*); *sealtne mersc* (*Exodus*); *sealte yða* (*Exodus*, *Psalms*); *sealte strēamas* (*Husband's Message*, *Phænix*); *sealte sǣstrēamas* (*Andreas*, *Psalms*); *sealt sǣ* (*Metra*); *sealtne wǣz* (*Daniel*, *Whale*); *sealte sǣwǣzas* (*Daniel*); *sealtne mere* (*Menologium*); *fāmize flōdas* (*Genesis*); *fāmig sǣ* (*Genesis*); *fāmiz wǣz* (*Riddles*); *fāmiz flōdes bæð* (*Salomon and Saturn*); and *fāmizbōsma wǣz* (*Exodus*). Of a different type from these are the phrases *dēop zedrēaz* (*Riddles*) and *fāmze feldas* (*Exodus*), where it is the adjective and not the noun that introduces the idea of the sea, and the phrase is a true kenning.

IV

But it is by the use of compounds and phrases that the OE poet is best able to lend diversity to his work; and nowhere is this more clearly shown than in the enormous number of phrases and compounds by which he denotes the sea. These fall into various categories. Some are merely a combination of words which are themselves used singly to denote the sea or a part of the sea; some are descriptive, introducing some new idea or aspect of the sea; some are true kennings, condensed metaphorical, pictorial, or figurative expressions.

The first of these classes, consisting of compounds and phrases formed by a combination of simple sea-terms, is very numerous. Almost every single term for the sea used by OE poets appears also as a part of such compounds and phrases, though the most common elements are the words *sǣ*, *strēam*, *wæter*, and *flōd*. But while many of these words when used singly as synonyms for the sea undergo the slight change of meaning that has already been discussed, they frequently retain

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their original force when used as elements of a compound or phrase.

To this class belong the compounds *sāstrēam[as]* (*Exodus, Genesis, Andreas, Psalms, Metra*); *sāwēz[as]* (*Daniel*); *sāflōd[as]* (*Genesis, Psalms*); *sāyða* (*Rune Poem*); *sāholm* (*Andreas*); *wāterýða* (*Beowulf*); *wāterflōd[as]* (*Psalms, Andreas*); *wāterstrēam[as]* (*Psalms*); *lazustrēam[as]* (*Beowulf, Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, Riddles, Maldon, Psalms, Elene, Metra, Wonders of Creation, Rhyme Poem*); *ēastrēam* (*Daniel*) with its variants *eahstrēam* (*Crist*); *ēzstrēam[as]* (*Beowulf, Elene, Genesis*); *ēhstrēam* (*Juliana*); *ezorstrēam[as]* (*Genesis, Metra*); and *eazorstrēam* (*Beowulf, Andreas*), with which it is interesting to compare ON *á* ('water' or 'river') and *Ægir* (a 'sea god,' hence a kenning for 'sea'); *brimstrēam[as]* (*Beowulf, Andreas*) or *brymstrēam* (*Eadmund*); *merestrēam[as]* (*Exodus, Genesis, Metra, Daniel, Riddles, Andreas, Husband's Message, Azarias*); *wāzstrēam* (*Exodus*); *flōdyða* (*Beowulf*); *lazoflōd[as]* (*Genesis, Riddles, Juliana, Cottonian Gnomes, Azarias, Crist, Andreas, Metra*); *mereflōd* (*Genesis, Seafarer, Cottonian Gnomes, Phænix, Andreas, Juliana, Metra*); *brimflōdas* (*Azarias*), *zeofonflōdas* (*Azarias*); *merefaroð* (*Andreas*), *yðmere* (*Phænix*), and *wāzholm* (*Beowulf*); with the phrases *zeofenes strēam* (*Elene, Andreas*), *wāðema strēam* (*Exodus*), *ēastrēam yða* (*Daniel*), *gārsecges dēop* (*Exodus*), *sāgrundes dēop* (*Psalms*), and *holma zelažu* (*Seafarer*). None of these is in the true sense of the word a kenning, since the figurative, pictorial, or metaphorical element that is an intrinsic part of the true kenning has yet to be introduced; but they do represent a further step in the process by which the kenning is ultimately evolved.

In the next class of phrases and compounds, some further idea is introduced in one element of the word or phrase; the full process by which the spade is called anything but a spade or even an agricultural implement is not yet accomplished; the sea itself, by one of its many names, is still retained as one element;

but a more subtle note of imagination is struck by the other. Some aspect of the sea—its coldness, its strength, its stormy or fearful nature—appeals to the poet, and is embodied as part of his synonym. Here again, as in the case of the adjective-and-noun phrases, there is the ever present danger of a conventional and stereotyped use of words; but to the poet of genuine insight and dramatic power this type of synonym is rich in its possibilities. The real force of many of these compounds and phrases can be felt only by a careful study of their contexts.

One of the first ideas with which the sea inspired the poet was evidently that of its extent; it was an immense, widely circling thing, embracing the earth. Hence arose such synonyms as *lazufæðm* (*Husband's Message*) and *flōdes fæðm* (*Andreas*) denoting the 'embrace' of the sea; *flōda begong* (*Beowulf*), *sioleða begong* (*Beow.*), *lazufloða bigong* (*Azarias*), *holma begang* (*Andreas, Juliana, Psalms, Metra*), and *gārsecges begang* (*Andreas*) denoting the 'circuit' or 'extent' of the sea; *holmes hrincg* (*Genesis*), the 'circle' of the sea; and *merestrēama zemet* (*Andreas*), the 'measure' or 'expanse' of the sea. Closely allied to these phrases are those expressing depth: *sægrund[as]* (*Exodus, Menologium, Psalms*); *wætergrund[as]* (*Psalms*); *meregrund[as]* (*Beowulf*); *eargrund* (*Azarias*); *zyfenes grund* (*Beowulf*); *gārsecges grund[as]* (*Riddles, Wonders of Creation, Hymns*); *sæs sīdne grund* (*Wonders of Creation*); and the fine phrase *gārsecges gīn* (*Exodus*), the 'abyss' of ocean. With the idea of the sea as a thing of limitless extent and depth came naturally the more abstract conception of its unlimited power; hence such phrases as *sæfæsten* (*Exodus*) and *lazofæsten* (*Elene, Andreas*) denoting the 'fortress' of the sea; *wæterþrȳðe* (*Psalms*) and *wætera þrȳð* (*Phœnix, Psalms*), the 'might' of the waters; *ȳða þrym* (*Beowulf*), *flōða þrym* (*Psalms*), and *wætres þrym* (*Phœnix, Andreas*), the 'great host' of waters; *ȳða zeþræc* (*Riddles, Andreas*) and *holmþræcu* (*Elene, Crist*), the 'violence' of the sea; and *holmmæzen* (*Riddles*), the 'power' of the sea. We

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have already noted the tendency of the OE poet to dwell upon the fiercer and more stormy aspects of the sea; the conception of the strength and power of the ocean inevitably suggested to him the awe-inspiring and fearful nature of that power. And so the sea appears as *drencflōd* (*Exodus*), a 'drowning' flood; *strēamzewinn* (*Riddles*), *ȳðzewinn* (*Beowulf*), *waruðzewinn* (*Andreas*), *waroðfaruða zewinn* (*Andreas*), and *ȳða zewin* (*Beowulf*), the 'strife' of waters; *wæẏþrēat* (*Genesis*), the 'tumult' of the waves; *hōpẏehnast* (*Riddles*), 'conflict' in the bay; *hlimme hlūdes wætres* and *wætres hlimme* (*Psalms*), a 'roaring torrent' of [loud] water; *waroða zeweorp* (*Andreas*), the 'dashing' of waters; *flōda zenipu* (*Beowulf*), the 'misty darkness' of the floods; *wāterezesa* (*Beowulf*), *wāterezsa* (*Andreas*), and *wāterbrōza* (*Andreas*), the 'horror' of water. Other compounds and phrases depicting the restless tossing and surging of the waves are *strēamwelm* (*Andreas*), *flōdwylm* (*Andreas*), *brimwylm* (*Beowulf*), *holmwylm* (*Beowulf*), *ēzewylmas* (*Psalms*), *wāteres wylm* (*Elene, Salomon and Saturn*), *wāzes welm* (*Elene, Juliana*), *ȳða wylm* (*Andreas*), and *flōdes wylm* (*Andreas*), the 'surging' of the sea; *strēamfaru* (*Andreas*), *wāẏfaru* (*Exodus, Andreas*), and *ȳðfaru* (*Phoenix, Andreas, Juliana*), the 'flowing' of the waves; *ȳðzeblond* (*Beowulf*), *sundzebland* (*Beowulf*), *ear[h]ẏe-blond* (*Elene, Metra*), *ārzeblond* (*Andreas*), *ārȳða zeblond* (*Andreas*), *āra zebland* (*Brunanburh*), and *ȳða zeblond* (*Pharaoh*), the 'mingling' or 'stirring' of the sea; *ȳða zelāc* (*Wife's Lament, Psalms*), *sealtȳða zelāc* (*Seafarer*), and *laẏufloða zelāc* (*Metra*), the 'play' of the waters; *ȳða zewealc* (*Beowulf, Exodus, Andreas, Seafarer, Eadgar*), the 'rolling' of the waves; *holma zeþring* (*Beowulf*), *ȳða zeþring* (*Andreas*), and *wæt[e]ra zeþring* (*Wonders of Creation, Eadgar*), the 'tumult' of the waters; and *ȳða zeswing* (*Andreas*) and *sealtȳða zeswing* (*Panther*), the 'tossing' of the sea. The icy sea of winter is pictured in *ismere* (*Metra*) and *wāðema zebind* (*Wanderer*), while the idea of its unlimited age finds expression in *fyrnstrēamas* (*Whale*). In the compounds *ārȳða* and *ārzeblond*

(*Andreas*), we have the idea of water stirred up by oars—‘oar-thresh,’ to borrow Kipling’s vivid phrase. Such compounds as *sealtȳða* (*Seafarer*, *Panther*), *hēahflōd* (*Genesis*), and *hēahsæ* (*Metra*) find their parallels in many of the adjective-and-noun phrases already discussed.

A more pictorial type of phrase, coming nearer in some ways to the fully developed kenning, is seen in *ȳða ful* (*Beowulf*), *lazustrēama full* (*Riddles*), and in *wāteres hrycg* (*Beowulf*, *Salomon and Saturn*), and *sæs hrycg* (*Psalms*), which picture the sea as a ‘cup’ or as a ‘ridge’; while simile is still further developed in *flōdwudu* (*Crist*), ‘flood-forest,’ a phrase that has some close parallels in ON poetry. A curious expression is *fāmiȝ flōdes bæð* (*Salomon and Saturn*), probably an extension of such kennings as *ganotes bæð*.

A very large number of compounds and phrases picture the sea as a path or road; in some of these, such as *merelād* (*Husband’s Message*), *lazulād* (*Wanderer*, *Andreas*), *brimlād* (*Beowulf*, *Seafarer*, *Andreas*), *sælād* (*Beowulf*, *Andreas*), *strēamrād* (*Bi Monna Cræftum*), *ēalād* (*Andreas*), *flōdweȝ[as]* (*Exodus*, *Riddles*, *Seafarer*), *flotweȝ* (*Husband’s Message*), *holmweȝ* (*Andreas*), *strēamræcu* (*Genesis*, *Psalms*), *strēamræce* (*Andreas*), *lazustræt* (*Beowulf*), *merestræt* (*Beowulf*, *Elene*), *faroðstræt* (*Andreas*), *zeofenes gong* (*Phænix*), and *gang wātera* (*Psalms*), no further idea than that of the sea as a highway is introduced, and the compound or phrase is made up of a word for the sea and a word for a road. In others, however, we have a completely developed kenning; the sea is a ship’s road or the path of some sea-beast. To this category belong the compounds *segmrād* (*Beowulf*), *hronrād*, *hranrād* (*Beowulf*, *Genesis*, *Andreas*), *hwælweȝ* (*Seafarer*), and *swanrād*, *swonrād* (*Beowulf*, *Andreas*, *Elene*, *Juliana*).

The idea of the ocean as the abode or bath of monsters and sea-beasts gives rise to a number of synonyms. Monsters figure in the compounds *fifelstrēam* (*Metra*) and *fifelwæȝ* (*Elene*) and

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in the phrase *ælwihtra eard* (*Beowulf*); whales in *hwælmere* (*Riddles*, *Andreas*), *hronmere* (*Metra*), and *hwæles ēþel* (*Seafarer*, *Andreas*, *Eadgar*); seals in *seolhbæð* (*Riddles*) and the doubtful word *seolhwaðu* in *Andreas*, which has been variously emended to *seolhwadu*, *seolhbaðu*, and *seolhpaðu*; sea-birds in *ganotes bæð* (*Beowulf*, *Rune Poem*, *Eadgar*) and *māwes ēðel* (*Husband's Message*); fishes in *fisces ēðel* (*Bi Dōmes Dæze*) and *fisces bæð* (*Andreas*, *Rune Poem*). In this type of compound and phrase the OE poets show little imagination, and the terms are generally used quite conventionally.

V

Such are the words and phrases by which the OE poet could denote the sea. Many interesting points are raised by a comparison of his material with that of the early poets of Scandinavia. Space forbids a detailed study of this, but a few points of general interest may be noted here. ON poetry, like OE, abounds in terms and phrases for the sea, and to a certain extent the Scandinavian and English poets pursued the same paths in their search for the variety essential in alliterative verse. Some of the methods by which they achieved that variety were doubtless very early in origin, and many compounds and phrases were probably developed prior to the separation of the West and North Germanic branches; while similar tendencies, originating in the earliest periods, were afterward developed by OE and ON poets alike. But while points of resemblance are very clearly defined, there are also obvious divergences of no less interest to the student of the early poetic art of England and Scandinavia.

Generally speaking, the main tendency of the OE poet is to coin compounds and phrases of more or less obvious meaning, in which the metaphorical element is for the most part absent; whereas the main tendency of the ON poet is to push metaphor to its utmost limit. The true kenning, the condensed meta-

phorical or figurative expression, be it phrase or compound, is comparatively rare in OE poetry, while it is one of the commonest features of ON. On the other hand, the "half-kenning" (to coin a term) and the purely descriptive phrase and compound are far more common in OE. Both languages abound in simple terms for the sea, though ON is more prolific than OE in this respect, as a glance at the formidable list of terms given in the *Edda* glosses shows; though many of the terms there given are extremely rare, and the meaning in many cases is forced.

One type of sea-kenning, shared by both ON and OE poetry, which is probably very ancient in origin, is that which describes the sea as the abode or the path of ships or of sea-beasts; but here ON is far more prolific, and exhibits far greater variety. Not only may the sea be called 'the land of ships,' but any part of a ship, its planks, its keel, or its seams, may be substituted for the ship itself, while there is equal variety in the words used for 'land.' In Snorri Sturluson's list of sea-kennings given in his *Skáldskaparmál*, he gives as examples of this type *skipa land*, 'land of ships'; *kjalar land*, 'land of the keel'; *stála land*, 'land of beaks'; *súða land*, 'land of planks'; *sýju land*, 'land of the seam'; *skipa hliðar ból*, 'abode of the side of ships'; *fiska land*, 'land of fishes'; *dorgar land*, 'land of fishing-gear'; *sæfogla land*, 'land of seabirds'; *hvalmænir*, 'whale-home'; *svana strind*, 'swans' land'; and *dorgar dynströnd*, 'noisy strand of fishing-gear.' Other examples of this type of kenning are *brimils vøllr*, 'seal's field' (*Egill Skallagrímsson*, *Höfuðlausn*); *máskeið*, 'sea-mews' road' (*Egill Skallagrímsson*, *Arinbjörnskvíða*); *svanvangr*, 'swan-plain' (*Gutthormr sindri*, *Hákonardrápa*); *hafskipa slóðir*, 'tracks of ocean-ships' (*Markús Skeggjason*); *máva mærr*, 'home of sea-mews' (*Bragi*); *hvalmænir*, 'whale-house' (*Skáld-Refr*); *lýsu-vangr*, 'fish's plain' (*Sighvatr*); *sæðings slóð*, 'gull's track' (*Þorðr Sjáreksson*); *borða braut*, 'road of boards,' and *borð-heimr*, 'abode of boards' (*Skáld-Refr*). Instances may easily be multiplied.

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Of the same type are the kennings that describe the sea as the abode of seaweed, rocks, sand, or wind. Snorri includes in his list *hús þangs*, 'house of seaweed'; *hús skerja*, 'house of reefs'; *hús sanda*, 'house of sands'; and *byrjar land*, 'land of fair wind.'

Another type of kenning common to OE and ON pictures the sea as a thing encircling the land; though here again instances are comparatively rare in OE, while the ON poet sees in this fine image an opportunity for a variety of picturesque and forceful phrases. Snorri gives as examples of this type of kenning *hringr eyjanna*, 'encircler of islands'; *gránn hólmfjöturr*, 'grey island-fetter'; *haustkøld hólmrønd*, 'autumn-cold island-border'; *sverrigjörð svalra landa*, 'strong girdle of cool lands.' Similar kennings are *hauðr-men*, 'earth-necklace' (*Hásteinn Hrómundsson*), and *skers glymfjöturr*, 'noisy reef-fetter' (*Markús Skeggjason*).

But by far the most common type of sea-kenning in ON is one that is totally unrepresented in OE, unless the obscure word *gārsecg* be an isolated instance. This is the mythological kenning as distinct from what may be termed the "pictorial" type. In kennings of this description, the metaphor is based on some allusion, sometimes obvious but frequently obscure, to mythology or tradition. A large proportion of the kennings given in Snorri's list belong to this type. He gives as examples *Ymis blóð*, 'blood of Ymir'; *heimsækir goðanna*, 'visitor of the gods'; *verr Ránar*, 'husband of Rán'; *land Ægisdætra*, 'land of Ægir's daughters'; *sækonunga leið* and *sækonunga braut*, 'road of the sea-kings'; *élreifar Ægis dætr*, 'daughters of Ægir rejoicing in storm'; *úrsvøl Gýmis vølva*, 'wet-cold witch-wife of Gýmir'; *hvít Rán*, 'white Rán'; *Rakna bifgrund*, 'tossing plain of Rakni'; *eyluðr Grotta*, 'Grotti's island flour-bin'; and *liðmeldr Amlóða* and *Amlóða kvern*, 'Hamlet's churn.' This type of kenning is dangerously prolific, and is the cause of much of the obscurity of Skaldic verse. It is fatally easy to multiply phrases of this kind, and though the original reference may be fairly obvious,

its elaborations are often the reverse. The sea is still recognizable as 'the road of the sea-kings'; but when the name of any particular sea-king that happened to fit in with the alliteration or assonance of the verse is substituted, and such kennings arise as *Rakna rymleið*, 'the roaring path of Rakni' (*Eyvindr Skálda-spillir*), then poetic artifice has killed poetic art. The famous reference to the sea as 'Hamlet's churn' is perhaps the best instance of the danger of obscure allusions; had Snæbjörn been able to visualize the fruitless efforts of nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship to elucidate his riddle, he might perhaps have been content to call the sea the sea, and leave it at that.

The elaboration of the mythological kenning was probably a comparatively late development in ON, and it is doubtful whether it ever was a feature of OE poetry. The evidence is scanty, but on the whole it seems likely that it never played any very important part. It is possible that its absence in OE, as contrasted with its frequent appearance in ON, is due to the much earlier conversion of England to Christianity. The thoroughness with which allusions to the old mythology were eliminated from OE literature is remarkable; and it would be surprising if, when other references to them were rooted out, the heathen gods and heroes still lived on in commonly used metaphorical phrases and compounds.

Another type of kenning from which OE has mercifully been preserved is the intricate double, triple, or multiple kenning of ON, in which each element of the original metaphor is itself expressed metaphorically.

VI

The question of the poetic art of the OE and the ON poet is one which opens up wide fields, in great part yet unexplored. In these pages I have endeavored to indicate a few points which might well be further developed; many others have suggested

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themselves to me in the course of this study, but lack of space forbids me to enter upon them here. The kennings of the ON Skaldic poets alone could furnish material for many a volume; but though less numerous and considerably less elaborate, those of the poets of pre-Conquest England are, as a subject for research, not to be despised.

EPITHETIC COMPOUND FOLK-NAMES IN *BEOWULF*



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The purpose of this study is to examine the epithetic compound folk-names in *Beowulf*—not as a body but each in its own setting—in the effort to determine to what extent these names were formed or selected by the poet because of their appropriateness to their particular context, and to what extent they were used as purely general, stylistic devices or as forced by the exigencies of poetic form, especially by the demands of alliteration. An examination of this kind should have some value as a test or reflection of the poet's artistry.

Though no such examination of the names, each in its particular context, has been made, the general use of such epithetic compounds has, of course, been considered. Probably the most important study, the results of which appear in many of the chief editions of the poems, is that by Karl Schemann¹ almost a half-century ago.

Schemann's conclusions, in so far as they are pertinent to the present paper, regard only the Danes and the Swedes. Concerning the former, his statement (p. 77) is:

Die meisten Benennungen, welche die Dänen erhalten, und zwar nicht nur in der Einleitung, die nach Dederich A. a O. S. 76 einen entscheidenen Anlauf zur Verherrlichung der Dänen und ihres Königsgeschlechtes nimmt, sondern auch in den drei ersten Liedern, sind für sie höchst ehrenvoll. Auf die grosse Ausbreitung der Dänen nach allen vier Himmelsrichtungen hin deuten die Benennungen *Norð-*, *Sūð-*, *Ēast-*, *West-Dene*. Wenn v. 383(B) die Dänen *West-Dene*, dagegen bereits v. 392(I) *Ēast-Dene* genannt werden,

¹ *Die Synonyma im Beowulfslid mit Rücksicht auf Composition und Poetik des Gedichtes* (Münster diss.; Hagen, 1882).

so ist der Grund hierfür nicht darin zu suchen, dass ersteres an interpolierter, letzteres an echter Stelle steht, sondern darin, dass der Dichter wegen der Alliteration in Verlegenheit war. Auf die hervorragenden kriegerischen Eigenschaften der Dänen, welche sie übrigens im Verlaufe des Gedichtes durchaus nicht bethätigen, deuten *Gār-Dene* und *Hring-Dene*. Ihre sonstige Tüchtigkeit hebt *Beorht-Dene* hervor.

Concerning the Swedes he states (p. 79):

Ehrende Benennungen der Schweden sind *Guð-Scylfingas* und *Heaðo-Scylfingas*, welche beide die hervorragenden kriegerischen Eigenschaften jenes Volkes betonen.

A study by Otto Krackow¹ twenty years later than Schemann's adds nothing of significance in the statement (p. 26) that "Cp. ['compounds'] von Völkernamen mit einem kriegerischen Attribut—z.B. 1 *Gār-Dene*, 598 *Sige-Scyldingas*, 1109 *Here-Scyldingas*—sind nicht selten." Schemann's general conclusions, so far as the Danes are concerned, are incorporated in such representative editions of *Beowulf* as are the Schücking-Heyne⁹ (1910) and the Chambers-Wyatt (1914).²

Except for such recognition that the poet of *Beowulf* intended generally to glorify the Danes through complimentary epithetic compounds, Beowulfian scholars—including the greatest of our day, the master to whom this volume of studies is dedicated—apparently consider that such terms were employed by the poet with little or no regard to their especial aptness to the particular context in which they appear. More than twenty years ago, among the preparatory studies that culminated in his great edition of *Beowulf*, Professor Klaeber expressed his opinion concerning

the mechanical use of epithets without regard to the specific situation.—Though the Danes are entirely powerless against Grendel, there is an allusion to the *atole ecgpræce* of the *Sigescyldingas* 596 f., which latter term Arnold

¹ *Die Nominalcomposita als Kunstmittel im altenglischen Epos* (Berlin diss.; Weimar, 1903).

² For the former see the "Namenverzeichnis" under *Dene* (p. 314), and for the latter the "Persons and Places" under *ibid.* (p. 166).

believes "must surely be used ironically." But very likely of such a thought the poet was entirely innocent. In the same way, Hroðgar is, without question, the *helm Scyldinga*, though he cannot protect his men; and the sword which fails in need is styled *iren ærgod*.¹

The same general attitude appears in his edition of *Beowulf* in connection with the only compound folk-name to the especial fitness or inaptness of which Professor Klaeber calls particular attention. In a note to *Sige-Scyldinga* (l. 597) he states that it is "a mechanical use of *sige-* as a general commendatory word without regard to the specific situation. There is no irony intended here."

Apparently the exigency of poetic form, especially of alliteration, is regarded as the primary factor in the choice of epithets and the formation of compounds. Professor Klaeber states in the Introduction to his edition that "the metrical form . . . is of course most vitally connected with the style of Old English poetry. It is easy to see, e.g., that . . . the requirement of alliteration was a powerful incentive to bringing into full play a host of synonyms, compounds, and recurrent formulas."² A footnote to this passage adds: "The influence of alliteration . . . on the use of varying compounds [may be illustrated] by a comparison of ll. 383, 392, 463, 616, 783. . . ."³ Holthausen does not discuss the matter of compound folk-names, but his belief that such forms are conditioned by the needs of alliteration may be reasonably inferred from his note to *Gār-Dena* (l. 1): "Dies steht formelhaft nur der Allit. wegen."

It is temerarious to differ from Klaeber and Holthausen, and yet every re-reading of *Beowulf* forces me the more strongly to the conclusion that in most instances the epithets forming folk-

¹ "Studies in the Textual Interpretation of *Beowulf*, A., Rhetorical Notes," *Modern Philology*, III (1905-1906), 241.

² P. lxx.

³ In these lines the first element of the compound (383—*West-Denum*, 392—*Ēast-Dena*, 463—*Sūð-Dena*, 783—*Norð-Denum*) in each particular instance may well be due to the demands of alliteration. But see pp. 124-125 below.

name compounds were most happily chosen by the poet with especial reference to the specific situation in which they are used. And of these compounds none seems to me more apt than *Sige-Scyldingas*, which has been cited as a "mechanical use," and *Gār-Dene*, as standing "only on account of alliteration."

A few words, it seems to me, are necessary concerning the demands of alliteration and the choice of word. There is, of course, no question that an Old English poet had to measure his skill in choice of words against the demands of alliteration even more strongly than a poet of later days had to meet the claims of end-rhyme. And yet a true artist then, such a master as the poet of *Beowulf* shows himself time and again, was no more the abject slave of alliteration than Wordsworth or Coleridge or Browning was a slave to final rhyme. Great poetry of all periods shows the technical demands of poetic form happily met in the apt word or phrase. To urge, for example, that in the very opening passage the poet of *Beowulf* first selected a colorless phrase meaning 'in days of old' (*in gēar-dagum*) and then merely for the sake of alliteration formed or made some indifferent name for the people he was honoring (*Gār-Dene*) seems to me to invert the process of poetic composition. Much more natural, it would seem, would be first to select the name that would convey to his hearers the precise characteristic he would wish them to get of his hero-people, and then to satisfy the needs of poetic form. Nor was the poet driven to alliteration on *g* through lack of some other phrase than *in gēar-dagum* to express the notion of 'in days of old'; *in ār-dagum*, for example, with vocalic alliteration, was used in this sense by other Old English poets.¹ If he had wished to use a less specifically warlike, more generally commendatory name for the Danes, he might have called them *Ār-Dene*, and *Hwæt, wē Ār-Dena in ār-dagum* would have been structurally satisfactory. But the poet of *Beowulf* wished to summon all the

¹ See *ār-dagas* in Grein's *Sprachschatz*.

associations that had collected about a fierce and successful warrior folk, and he named them *Gār-Dene*. Anyone who has in mind the introductory section, in which the warrior ancestry of Hroðgar is traced, must recognize that this particular epithet was chosen for its own effective sake and not merely for the sake of alliteration. Its peculiar fitness in its particular context appears in the first half-dozen lines:

Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in gēardagum,
 þēodcyninga þrym gefrūnon,
 hū ȝā æþelingas ellen fremedon.
 Oft Scyld Scēfing sceaþena þrēatum,
 monegum mægþum meodosetla oftēah,
 egsode eorlas.

A number of compound folk-names should be eliminated from consideration in a study that is concerned with the poet's artistry in forming or selecting apt appellatives. This number comprises what are apparently the usual designations of certain peoples, names for which the poet of *Beowulf* is in no way responsible. Such are *Heaþo-Rēamas* (l. 519) and *Heaðo-Beardna* (ll. 2032, 2037, 2067), the names that these peoples bear also in *Widsiþ*;¹ *Healf-Dene* (l. 1069), the tribe of *Hnæf* and *Hengest* in the Finnsburg episode; and *Weder-Gēatas* (ll. 1492, 1612, 2379, 2551). That the last has no poetic significance is apparent from the facts that the Geats are called *Wederas* or *Weder-Gēatas* almost as frequently as *Gēatas* and that their land is called *Weder-mearc* (l. 298).

Nor would it be unwarranted, I believe, to assume that *Norð-Dene* (l. 783), *Sūð-Dene* (ll. 463, 1996), *Ēast-Dene* (ll. 392, 616, 828), and *West-Dene* (ll. 383, 1578) were generally current names, not coined by the poet to indicate the wide distribution of the Danes but already in existence as a result of this distribution.² These forms furnished a group of names that might aid

¹ *Heaþo-Rēamum*, l. 63; *Heaðo-Beardna*, l. 49.

² *Sūþ-Dene* occurs in *Widsiþ*, l. 58.—EDITOR.

the poet in securing alliteration, but he may well have placed no artistic value upon them. Possibly, however, it is worth noting that on the only occasions when any clear geographical notion may be read into or read out of the situation, the direction implied in the compound is accurate. When Beowulf's father, forced to flee from the Geats, took refuge with Hroðgar, he went south (*hē gesōhte Sūð-Dena folc*, l. 463). Again, when immediately after Beowulf's return to the land of the Geats, Hygelac greeted the hero and recalled his own unwillingness for his nephew to become involved in the struggle between Grendel and the Danes, who actually lay to the south, he called them "South-Danes" (*lēte Sūð-Dene sylfe geweorðan gūðe wið Grendel*, ll. 1996-97).¹

If such compounds as those discussed in the immediately preceding paragraphs may properly be left out of account, there remain two that are applied to the Swedes, two to the Geats, and a considerable number to the Danes.

The epithets applied to the Swedes are *heado-* and *guð-*. *Heaðo-Scilfingas* in its first occurrence (l. 63) is generally taken to refer to the Swedish king, Onela, who here is merely named as the husband of Healfdene's daughter. In the later occur-

¹ Professor Kemp Malone in a private communication has offered the following explanation of the use of *West-Dene* in l. 383 and of *East-Dene* in l. 392: "In the *West-Denum* passage, Hroðgar is speaking to Wulfgar, his lieutenant. Now Wulfgar is stated to be *Wendla leod* 'a man of the Wendels' (l. 348), i.e., a man from the Danish province known as Vendel (in Jutland). In other words, Wulfgar was a West Dane, and Hroðgar accordingly, with true and subtle courtesy, calls the Danish kingdom that of the West-Danes. Wulfgar, in his response, observes the same courtesy. The ruling Danish dynasty, that of the Scyldings, was of East Danish origin; its capital was situated at Lejre, on the island of Sjælland, in the eastern part of Denmark. Hroðgar, then, was himself an East Dane. Wulfgar accordingly refers to the Danes as East-Danes, out of courtesy to his lord and by way of return for the courtesy which Hroðgar had done him in referring to the Danes as West-Danes."

Malone has also offered an interesting explanation of the term *Healf-Dene* (l. 1069). He makes it, not a tribal name, but a general dynastic name for the Danes, to be equated with *Scyldingas*. See his "Danes and Half-Danes," *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XLII (1926), 234-240.

rences both *Heaðo-Scilfingas* (l. 2205) and *Gūð-Scilfingas* (l. 2927) refer to the Swedes as a fighting folk, whose bitter prowess in each case brought disaster to the Geats and death to their king. Quotation of the immediate context in both instances will show how fitly the poet applied his characterizing compounds:

Eft þæt geīode ufaran dōgrum
 hildehlæmmum syððan Hygelāc læg,
 ond Heardrēde hildemēceas
 under bordhrēoðan tō bonan wurdon,
 ðā hyne gesōhtan on sigeþēode
 hearde hildfrecan, Heaðo-Scilfingas,
 niða genægðan nefan Hererīces [ll. 2200-06].

Nē ic te Swēoðēode sibbe oððe trēowe
 wihte ne wēne, ac wæs wide cūð,
 þætte Ongenðio ealdre besnyðede
 Hæðcen Hreþling wið Hrefnawudu,
 þā for onmēðlan ærest gesōhton
 Gēata lēode Gūð-Scilfingas.
 Sōna him se frōda fæder Ōththeres,
 eald and egesfull ondslyht āgeaf,
 ābrēot brimwisan, brýd āhredde,
 gomela iōmēowlan golde berofene,
 Onelan mōdor ond Ōththeres;
 ond ðā folgode feorhgeniðlan,
 oð ðæt hī oðēodon earfoðlice
 in Hrefnesholt hlāfordlēase.
 Besæt ðā sinherge sweorda lāfe
 wundum wēрге; wēan oft gehēt
 earmre teohhe ondlonge niht [ll. 2922-38].

The characterizing elements of the compounds by which the Geats are named are *gūð-* (*Gūð-Gēata lēod*, l. 1538) and *sā-* (*Sā-Gēatas*, l. 1850; *Sā-Gēata*, l. 1986). *Gūð-Gēata lēod* is applied to Beowulf at the most desperate moment of his encounter with Grendel's dam, when, the sword having failed him, only the strength and spirit of a hero of warrior race saved him from death:

FOLK-NAMES IN *BEOWULF*

Strengre getrūwode,
 mundgripe mægenes. Swā sceal man dōn
 þonne hē æt gūðe gegān þenceð
 longsumne lof; nā ymb his lif cearað.
 Gefēng þā be eaxle—nalas for fæhðe mearn—
 Gūð-Gēata lēod Grendles mōdor;
 brægd þā beadwe heard, þā hē gebolgen wæs,
 feorhgeniðlan, þæt hēo on flet gebēah [ll. 1533-40].

Sæ-Gēatas occurs first in Hroðgar's farewell speech to Beowulf just before the latter and his comrades take ship for their voyage home. Only a few lines further Hroðgar refers also to an exchange of gifts carried over the sea between the Geats and the Danes:

Manig oþerne [sceal]
 gōdum gegrēttan ofer ganotes bæð;
 sceal hringnaca ofer heafu bringan
 lāc ond luftācen [ll. 1860-63].

Immediately after the return home of Beowulf and his band, they are taken into the hall to give to Hygelac an account of their adventures. Just landed, as they were, from their voyage, they are fittingly named "Sea-Geats." Further, that curiosity concerning their exploits as overseas adventurers was uppermost in the mind of their king is apparent from the phrasing:

Hyne [Hygelac] fyrwit bræc,
 hwylce Sæ-Gēata siðas wæron:
 "Hū lomp ēow on lāde, lēofa Biowulf,
 þā ðū færinga feorr gehogodest
 sæcce sēcean ofer sealt wæter,
 hilde tō Hiorote?" [ll. 1985-90].

The compounds applied to the Danes are much more numerous and much more varied than those whereby the Swedes and the Geats are named. *Dene* is compounded four times with *gār*-, three times with *hring*-, and twice with *beorht*-; *Scyldingas* is compounded twice with *ār*-, twice with *sige*-, and once each with *þēod*- and *here*-. It is a point of some slight interest that

not one of the epithets given to the Swedes and the Geats is applied to the Danes.

The first instance of *Gār-Dene* (l. 1) has been discussed already in the attempt to controvert the thesis that alliteration alone chiefly controlled the formation of compounds.¹ In the second example of its occurrence (l. 601) *Gār-Dene* must be considered in connection with *Sige-Scyldingas* (l. 597). Disagreeing with Professor Klaeber,² I see in both these names as effective a use of irony as can be found in Old English poetry, and every re-reading of the passage containing these names reinforces this impression. The passage forms a part of Beowulf's crushing reply to the sneering taunts of Unferð that Beowulf had been badly beaten by Breca in a swimming contest and would fare far worse if he dared to risk an encounter with Grendel during the night. In his counterattack, Beowulf, with his temper at first well under control, thrusts shrewdly at Unferð with the statement that it is not a sober but a drunken Unferð who speaks so much at large, and then he gives his version of the contest with Breca. After recounting his victory not only over Breca but over every hardship and peril of the sea, he charges that neither Unferð nor Breca had courage or fortitude equal to his own. His indignation mounting as he speaks, Beowulf accuses Unferð of responsibility for the murder of his own brothers—very possibly through his cowardice—a crime for which *þū in helle scealt werhðo drēogan, þēah þīn wit duge*. He adds that Grendel would never have brought such humiliating terror to Heorot if Unferð had really had mind and heart as tempered to fight as he imagined. Then in the most devastating lines, Beowulf declares that Grendel has found out that he need not greatly fear even Unferð's whole nation, the so-called "Victory-Scyldings"; he could slaughter at will the people called "Spear-Danes" without even expecting them to fight. But Grendel shall presently meet his fate, not in fight with any of

¹ See above, pp. 122-123.

² *Loc. cit.*

these people of warlike names, but through the strength and prowess of a man whose folk are styled simply "Geats."

Nothing in all the poem is more effective than is the whole section (ll. 530-606) in which Beowulf thus overwhelms Unferð, and—in my judgment, at least—nothing in this section is more effective than the passage in which, carried away with mounting indignation, Beowulf declares Grendel's contempt for the fighting qualities, not merely of Unferð, but also of Unferð's people, a people who bore such warlike names as "Victory-Scyldings" and "Spear-Danes." It is difficult to imagine that the poet was unaware of the caustic irony of these appellatives under the particular circumstances. Unless I am mistaken, he purposely heightened this effect by such phrasing and arrangement as *hē . . . ne þearf atole ecgþræce ēower lēode swīðe onsittan, Sige-Scyldinga; nymeð nýdbāde . . . lust wigeð . . . secce ne wēneþ tō Gār-Denum*.¹

Gār-Dene is used for the third time (l. 1856) in that part of Hroðgar's farewell address to Beowulf in which the king of the Danes declares that Beowulf has brought it about that there shall be no renewal of old strife between 'the people of the Geats' and 'the Spear-Danes':

Hafast þū gefēred, þæt þām folcum sceal,
Gēata lēodum ond Gār-Denum
sib gemæne, ond sacu restan
inwitnīþas, þe hīe ær drugon,
wesan, þenden ic wealde wīdan rīces [ll. 1855-59].

Gār-Dene, applied by Hroðgar to his own people, brings out sharply the implication that they were normally a warlike nation, and this contrast of their normal character with their actual peaceful intentions toward the Geats emphasizes the greatness of Beowulf's service.

Gār-Dene appears for the last time in Beowulf's review of his career just before he goes to attack the dragon. In speaking

¹ So also E. Wadstein, *Norden och Västeuropa i Gammal Tid*, p. 164.—EDITOR.

of his earlier service to his king, he declared that his lord had had no need:

þæt hē tō Gifðum oððe tō Gār-Denum
oððe in Swiorice sēcean þurfe
wyrsan wīgfreca, weorðe gecȳpan [ll. 2494-96].

Beowulf here is recalling his value and worth as a fighting man measured against any warrior who might have been obtained from any of the neighboring warrior tribes. The term *Gār-Dene* emphasizes precisely this characteristic of the Danes. Beowulf's self-appreciation would have missed much of its point if the poet had used instead of *gār*- some less specifically warlike epithet.

Hring-Dene is usually rendered into Modern English by 'mail-clad Danes,' 'corsleted Danes.' In the first occurrence of this compound in *Beowulf* (l. 116) I am very strongly inclined to connect *hring* not with the iron links of coats-of-mail but with rings of gold given as treasure and worn as ornaments; the association would then be not with fighting but with rewards and feasting.¹ If this interpretation is correct, *Hring-Dene* is very appropriately used. When Heorot had been built, Hroðgar fulfilled his vow of generosity, *bēagas dælde, sinc æt symle* (ll. 80-81). At nightfall the malignant Grendel came to the hall to see

hū hit Hring-Dene
æfter bēorþege gebūn hæfdon.
Fand þā ðær inne æþelinga gedriht
swefan æfter symble [ll. 116-119].

The second instance of *Hring-Dene* (l. 1279) has no especial fitness to the situation so far as I can discover. Grendel's dam on her mission of vengeance

Cōm þā tō Heorote, ðær Hring-Dene
geond þæt seld swæfun.

¹ Though in compounds *bēag* in this sense is more usual than *hring*, the latter is employed. *Hring-weorðung* occurs in l. 3017, and *hring-sele* of l. 2010 is exactly synonymous with *bēahsele* of l. 1177. *Hring-þegu*, defined in Grein's *Sprachschatz* as "acceptio annulorum a domino distributorum," occurs in the *Seafarer*, l. 44. Further, in *Beowulf*, *bēagas dælde* of l. 80 is exactly matched by *hringas dælan* of l. 1970.

FOLK-NAMES IN *BEOWULF*

In the third occurrence of *Hring-Dene* (l. 1769) the compound apparently has the meaning usually given it by editors of *Beowulf*—that of ‘mail-clad, corsleted Danes.’¹ After Hroðgar’s sermonizing address to Beowulf, in which he emphasized the inevitable change of fortune from good to bad, he illustrates this theme of *gyrn æfter gomene* by reference to the former freedom of his people from hostile attack in contrast with their later suffering at the hands of Grendel and Grendel’s mother. It is in his account of this earlier state of security against any foe that he calls his people *Hring-Dene*:

Swā ic Hring-Dene hund missēra
wēold under wolcnum ond hig wigge belēac
manigum mægþa geond þysne middangeard,
æscum ond ecgum, þæt ic mē ænigne
under swegles begong gesacan ne tealde [ll. 1769-73].

Beorht-Dene calls up much less specific and concrete associations than do *Gār-Dene* and *Hring-Dene*; it is a much more general commendatory term, the adjectival first element having some such significance as ‘brilliant,’ ‘renowned,’ ‘glorious.’ The first instance of the use of this compound (l. 427) is in Beowulf’s entreaty to Hroðgar that he and his companions may have the honor of ‘cleansing Heorot’ of the monstrous Grendel. Beowulf avoids any suggestion of presumptuousness by addressing Hroðgar with all the terms of respect that are due to the king of a great and famous people—*brego Beorht-Dene, eodor Scyldinga, wigendra hlēo, frēo-wine folca*. It is in connection with a joyous banqueting-scene that this name is employed in the second passage in which it occurs (ll. 607 ff.) Beowulf has made his *bēot* that before the following morning the dread menace of

¹ I may, of course, be charged with inconsistency because of my wholly different interpretations of *Hring-Dene*. But in OE poetry *hring* actually had these different meanings, and an examination of the vocabulary of *Beowulf* shows that the poet used *hring* in both senses. There was no offense against either clearness or taste in forming compounds of *hring* with one of its values in one passage and with its other value in another passage hundreds of lines removed from the first.

Grendel shall have been removed. Hroðgar, *since brytta, brego Beorht-Dena*, confident in the resolution of the young champion, is in happy mood. There is presented a description of the festivities in the hall, the stately entry of Queen Wealhþeow, and her gracious behavior. The brilliance of this occasion is recalled later in the poem (ll. 2014 ff.) when Beowulf relates his experiences to Hygelac; his account begins thus:

Weorod wæs on wynne; ne seah ic wiðan feorh
under heofones hwealf healsittendra
medudrēam mārān.

Compounds with *ār-* (*Ār-Scyldinga*, l. 464; *Ār-Scyldingum*, l. 1710) have a somewhat more precise significance, more concrete associative value, than have compounds with *beorht-*. *Ār-* carries with it the suggestion of 'honor,' 'generosity,' 'nobility of nature.' Only six lines removed from *Ār-Scyldinga* in its first occurrence the form *ārstafulum* is used. Hroðgar in his welcome to Beowulf declares that the latter has come to aid him in generous repayment of a kindness done his father:

For gewyrhtum¹ þu, wine min Bēowulf
ond for ārstafulum ūsic geōhtest [ll. 457-458].

He continues with the account of how Beowulf's father, when forced by a feud to flee from his own people, had come for refuge to the *Sūð-Dena folc . . . Ār-Scyldinga*. And Hroðgar, at that time the youthful king of the *Ār-Scyldinga*, had dealt nobly and generously with the exile; he had made the necessary payment and thus ended the feud. The peculiar fitness of *Ār-Scyldinga* in its particular context here is obvious. The appropriateness of this name in the only other instance of its use (l. 1710) is less apparent. It occurs in the passage in which Hroðgar presents Heremod, the cruel tyrant, the slayer of his own followers, as a contrast to Beowulf, who Hroðgar has just

¹ The MS reading *ferē fyhtum* has been generally rejected and variously emended; for *gewyrhtum*, the emendation accepted by Klaeber and Chambers-Wyatt appears the most suitable.

declared will be a lifelong aid and help to his people. In this passage I see in *Ār-Scyldingas* only a generally complimentary epithet without specific applicability to the particular situation.

The first of the two occurrences of *Sige-Scyldingas* (l. 597) has already been considered.¹ The second instance (l. 2004), though not so obviously and strikingly apt, is, I think, employed with effectiveness to bring out Beowulf's prowess by contrasting the helplessness of the "Victory-Scyldings" with Beowulf's own adequacy in meeting the peril of Grendel. Beowulf, in reporting his adventures to Hygelac, declared:

þær hē [Grendel] worna fela
Sige-Scyldingum sorge gefremede,
yrmðe tō aldre; ic ðæt eall gewræc.

þēod in *þēod-Scyldingas*, which occurs only once (l. 1019), in addition to the meaning 'people,' 'nation,' carries the implication of 'power,' 'might,'² The name *þēod-Scyldingas* is applied to the Danes in the account of the celebration after the overthrow of Grendel:

Ne gefrægen ic þā mægþe mārān weorode
ymb hira sincgyfan sēl gebæran.
Bugon þā tō hence blādāgande,
fylle gefægon, fægere geþægon
medoful manig; māgas wæran
swīðhicgende on sele þām hēan,
Hrōðgār ond Hrōþulf. Heorot innan wæs
frēondum āfyllled; nalles fācenstafas
þēod-Scyldingas þenden fremedon [ll. 1011-19].

The emphasis placed in this passage upon the power and unity of the folk and their rulers makes the epithet *þēod-Scyldingas* thoroughly appropriate.

Here-Scyldingas is applied (l. 1108) to the troop of "Half-Danes" led by Hnæf and Hengest in the Finnsburg episode. To

¹ See above, pp. 128-129.

² The Chambers-Wyatt *Beowulf* renders *þēod-Scyldingas* as 'the mighty nation of the Scyldings.'

anyone who recalls the warlike qualities of this band in the independent Finnsburg fragment as well as in the Finnsburg episode of *Beowulf*, the general appropriateness of the characterization implied in *Here-Scyldingas* is directly apparent. It is particularly apt, too, in its immediate context. Hnæf, the chieftain, *hæleþ Healf-Dena*, has fallen in the desperate fighting against Finn and his Frisians. After terms of peace have been concluded between the remnants of both forces, the body of Hnæf is placed on the funeral pyre:

Here-Scyldinga

betst beadorinca wæs on bæl gearu.

Æt þæm āde wæs ēþgesýne

swātfāh syrce, swýn ealgylden,

eofer irenheard, æþeling manig

wundum āwyrded; sume on wæle crungon [ll. 1108-113].

In such a context to call the fallen leader 'the best fighting-man of the Warrior-Scyldings' was to pay the highest tribute to his valor; how much *here-* contributes to the effectiveness of the compound in this particular situation may be judged if one substitutes for it *beorht-* or *ār-*.

This rather wearily detailed examination has shown, I trust, that with some few exceptions the poet of *Beowulf* in his use of characterizing folk-name compounds was guided by a keen sense of the fitness of each in its context. A simple test of the appropriateness of these terms may be made by interchanging them and observing the difference in effect. The Old English system of versification was elaborate and difficult, and in *Beowulf* there are occasions when the exigencies of the verse-form forced the poet to a somewhat mechanical use of purely conventional words and phrases; but, on the whole, there is no question as to the fresh vigor and effectiveness of his phraseology. No aspect of his artistry seems to me more notable than his sure mastery of such stubborn material as folk- and national names.

THE DAUGHTER OF HEALFDENE

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The English epic poem *Beowulf* opens with a short sketch of the history of the Scylding dynasty of Danish kings. As one would expect, the poet traces the dynasty back into a period about which his information is legendary rather than historical, and he represents as its founder a king, Scyld by name, who must be regarded as mythical. In the unique MS of the poem, this legendary lore is set off from the historical part of the sketch: the first fit of the poem begins, not with verse 1, but with verse 53; in other words, the division into fits begins with the first sentence in which King Healfdene is mentioned. And there are other indications that with Healfdene the poet has reached firmer ground. But into these indications it is needless to go. Beowulfian scholars are agreed (so far as they are agreed about anything) that the Scylding dynasty is historical, and that as a historical dynasty it begins with Healfdene.

After telling us something about Healfdene, the English poet proceeds to give us the names of Healfdene's children. He says:

59 Ðæm feower bearn forðgerimed
in worold wocun, weoroda ræswan:
Heorogar ond Hroðgar ond Halga til;
hyrde ic þæt elan cwen,
63 Heaðo-Scilfingas healsgebedda.

'To him, to the leader of hosts, four children all told were born: Heorogar and Hroðgar and Halga the good; I heard that [X was] the wife of . . . ela, the bedfellow of the battle-Scilfing.' Unfortunately verse 62 is defective in the only MS of the poem

that has survived to us: the scribe omitted altogether the name of the princess (which I have represented, in my translation, with an "X"), and gave us only the last part of her husband's name. The identity of husband and wife cannot be determined, then, from the text of the poem alone; we must search elsewhere for further evidence.

Evidence of a sort we find in certain Scandian sources that treat of Healfdene and his family. Arngrímur's epitome (made in 1596) of the now lost *Skjöldungasaga* gives us the following account of things.¹ Halfdanus and Ingialldus were brothers, sons of King Frodo of Denmark. Halfdanus was the elder brother. He was married to a certain Sigrida, who bore him a daughter, Signya, and two sons, Roas and Helgo. Ingialldus was married to the daughter of a certain Swedish baron named Sverting. Frodo had reduced Sverting to a tributary; Sverting and his twelve sons, resenting this, attacked and killed Frodo one night. Ingialldus did nothing to avenge his father's death, but Halfdanus slew the twelve sons of Sverting. The champion Starkaðr reproached Ingialldus bitterly for his inactivity. He persuaded Ingialldus to divorce his wife (the daughter of Sverting). The two brothers, after their father's murder, divided Denmark between them. Ingialldus later murdered his brother and married his brother's widow, Sigrida, who bore him two sons, Rærecus and Frodo; he already had a son, Agnarus, by his divorced wife, the daughter of Sverting. The princess Signya stayed with her mother, and when she was grown her uncle and stepfather Ingialldus gave her in marriage to a *vili baroni Selandiae, Sevillo*. But her brothers, Roas and Helgo, were brought up secretly on an island, and when they were grown they killed Ingialldus and thus avenged their father. Roas was eventually killed by his cousins (or half-brothers), Rærecus and Frodo, who thus avenged their father's murder.

¹ This epitome was printed by A. Olrik in *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* (1894), pp. 104 ff.

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Also based on the *Skjöldunga* were the *Bjarkarímur* (ca. 1400 A.D.).¹ In the seventh *ríma* we learn of the Danish king Fróði, with his sons Ingjald and Halfdan. Halfdan had two sons, Hróar and Helgi, who were brought up secretly by an old man named Vifill. Ingjald "burnt in" his brother, married a woman (apparently his brother's widow) whose name is not given, and by her had two sons: Fróði and Hrærek. He also had a son, Agnar, by a concubine. Hróar and Helgi "burnt in" Ingjald. They thus avenged their father, and also won a fine ring belonging to Ingjald. Hrærek persuaded Hróar to let him look at the ring; once he got it in his grip, he flung it into the sea. The brothers had Hrærek maimed. He went home and afterward died. Hrærek's brother Fróði seems to have kept quiet, but his brother Agnar regained the ring (by diving) and invaded Denmark, where he was killed in battle with the champion Bjarki.

The *Hrólfs saga kraka* (early fifteenth century) gives a somewhat different account.² Hálfðan is king of Denmark. His brother is named Fróði; the name of Fróði's kingdom is not given. Hálfðan has a daughter, Signý, married to a jarl Sævill; he also has two sons, mere lads, Hróarr and Helgi. Fróði makes a surprise attack on his brother's hall, and captures and kills him. The lads are saved by Reginn, their foster-father, and are brought to an island held by an old man named Vifill. Later they take refuge with their sister Signý. Finally they "burn in" King Fróði in his hall. With Fróði dies Sigríðr, mother of the lads; as the saga puts it, "She would not go out [of the hall]." One may infer that she had married Fróði after his murder of Hálfðan, her former husband, although this is not specifically stated in the saga.³ Sævill and Signý have a son named Hrókr. He seeks out Hróarr to demand of him a certain ring. Hróarr refuses to give it to him, but allows him to take it in his hand

¹ *Hrólfs saga kraka og Bjarkarímur* (ed. F. Jónsson), pp. 111 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 3 ff.

³ So Jónsson, *ibid.*, p. ix, bottom.

to look at. Hrókr takes it and throws it into the sea. Hróarr maims Hrókr and lets him go. Hrókr bides his time, and when his chance comes attacks and kills Hróarr. Helgi defeats and captures Hrókr, maims him thoroughly, and sends him back home. Hróarr had married an English princess, Ögn by name. She bears him a posthumous son, Agnarr, who recovers the ring by diving.

Yet another Scandian tale has a bearing on our problem: the story of Harald and Haldan as told by Saxo in Book VII of his *Gesta Danorum* (twelfth century).¹ According to this tale, Harald and Frotho were brothers and ruled jointly over Denmark. Harald was married to Sygne; they had two sons, Harald and Haldan. Frotho was married to Ulvild; they had a son named Eric, who later inherited the throne of Sweden through his mother. Frotho had his brother murdered. The sons of Harald, after various adventures (part of the time under the protection of a certain Regno), finally killed Frotho and thus avenged their father. Later Haldan warred much with Eric. Eric finally killed young Harald. Haldan afterward captured Eric, and, binding him securely, exposed him to wild beasts. Saxo, in Book II of his *Gesta Danorum*,² tells of a certain Hothbrod, king of Sweden, who attacked and killed King Roe of Denmark. Roe's brother, Helgo, quickly avenged his death. This episode is obviously parallel to the corresponding episode in the other stories outlined above.

We may begin our study of this material by going back, for the moment, to *Beowulf*. In the English poem two hostile royal houses appear: that of the Danes and that of the Bards. The Danes are ruled by the Halfdanes³ or Scyldings. The Bards

¹ Saxo, *Gesta Danorum* (ed. Holder), pp. 216 ff.

² Ed. Holder, pp. 52 f.

³ The Halfdanes were the dynasty founded by Healfdene and named after him; see *Arkiv för nordisk Filologi*, XLII, 234 ff.; this dynasty was also known as that of the Scyldings; this latter name was associated with Healfdene's mythical forefather Scyld.

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are ruled by a king named Ingeld; he is said to be the son of Froda (vs. 2025). Hroðgar, the ruling Danish prince, gave his daughter in marriage to Ingeld; she was to serve as a bond of peace between the two nations. But the feud between Dane and Bard was too bitter to be patched up by a mere marriage. As the poet puts it (vss. 2029 ff.), "It is always a rare thing to find the spear resting long, after a national defeat, even though the bride be a good one." Further on we learn definitely that the Danes had defeated the Bards in the "national defeat" in question. That King Froda himself fell in the battle is an inference, based on Scandian sources, which tell us that Hróarr (Hroðgar) killed Fróði (Froda). The English poet also tells us (vss. 2065 f.) that Ingeld's love for his wife cools, and we may infer that he finally divorced her. From verses 45-49 of *Widsið* we have definite information that Ingeld breaks the peace at last, and attacks Hroðgar and Hroðwulf at Heorot. In the battle that follows, Ingeld is overwhelmingly defeated and apparently killed. To recapitulate:

1. The Danes under Hroðgar overthrow the Bards. King Froda falls?
2. Hroðgar gives his daughter in marriage to Ingeld, son of Froda, in an attempt to make peace between the two peoples.
3. Ingeld divorces his wife.
4. Ingeld attacks the Danes at Heorot, but is defeated and slain.

In Scandian tradition the Bards, as such, came to be forgotten. Their kings were remembered, but were thought of as Danes and incorporated into the Scylding line of kings, the warfare between Danes and Bards being interpreted as civil war, or rather as fratricidal strife. From the beginning the Scandian tradition about the Scyldings seems to have differed from the English in one respect: the son of Scyld, named Beow in the OE genealogies, and Beowulf in the poem of that name,

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went by the name Fróði in Scandia. This mythical person was called "peace Fróði," to distinguish him from the historical Bardish king of the same name. The English and Scandian genealogies follow:

English	Scandian	English	Scandian
Scyld.....	Skjold		
Beow[ulf].....	Fróði		
Healfdene.....	Halfdan	Froda.....	Fróði
Hroðgar, Halga.....	Hróarr, Helgi	Ingeld.....	Ingjaldr
Hreðric, Hroðulf.....	Hrærekr, Hrólf	————	Agnarr

Now in the Scandian monuments that we are considering, the Bardish kings were inserted into the Scylding genealogy. In the *Skjöldunga* the union was effected by identifying the two Fróðis, a method that resulted in Halfdan and Ingjaldr becoming brothers. In the *Hrólfs saga* the development was rather different. In the English account of the feud between Dane and Bard, the first stage pictures the Danes as attacking the Bards (and killing Froda?). Why did they attack the Bards? We are not told, but if for any reason a poet or sagaman wished to expand the tale, he could easily carry it further back by making the Danish attack a wreaking of vengeance for an earlier attack by the Bards on the Danes. Putting it in personal terms, we may say that Hroðgar killed Froda because Froda earlier had killed Hroðgar's father Healfdene. At any rate, we find just this expansion in the *Hrólfs saga*. Hróarr and his brother Helgi attack and kill Fróði because Fróði earlier had killed their father Halfdan. Fróði is made into a Scylding, not by being identified with his namesake, but by being given his namesake for a father. Ingjaldr is left out of the picture altogether, for reasons which are very good, but which I cannot go into here.¹

Saxo, in his seventh book, gives us essentially the same story that we have in the *Hrólfs saga*, but his names for the characters agree only in part with the Icelandic version. Olrik long ago

¹ See A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 316 ff.

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pointed out¹ that there is a relationship between the Saxonian tale and a story which Snorri sketches in chapter xxxix of his *Ynglingasaga*. There are also personal correspondences, which may be listed as follows:

<i>Beowulf</i>	Saxo, Book VII	Snorri, Arngrímur
Healfdene gamol	[Old] Harald	Haraldus antiquus
Hroðgar, Halga til . . .	[Young] Harald, Haldan	Guðrøðr, Halfdan snjalli
Hroðulf		Ívarr

I have examined elsewhere² the relations between Snorri's tale and Beowulfian materials. Here it will suffice to say that Snorri's tale goes back to a treatment of the historical saga-stuff different from that exemplified in Saxo's Book VII and the *Hrólfs saga*, and closely related to that exemplified in *Sögubrot*. The saga-stuff is at bottom the same, however, in both groups, and this fact doubtless had something to do with the appearance of the names *Harald* and *Haldan* in Saxo for the *Halfdan* and *Helgi* of the *Hrólfs saga*. It ought to be noted that Saxo does not call Harald by the epithet "old." That he gives him a son with the same name, however, is best explained on the supposition that in his source the father had the by-name "old" just as he does in Arngrímur's genealogy. If Saxo started with an old Harald, he might very well add a young Harald to give the epithet "old" a *raison d'être*. At any rate, we actually find a young Harald, who plays the part given to Hróarr in the *Hrólfs saga*.

In Arngrímur our story begins with a feud between Danes and Svertings, omitted in the other versions. This feud is inseparably bound up with the daughter of Sverting, who was married to Ingjaldr. Where she is left out (as in the *Bjarkarímur*), the whole episode is left out. The lady answers to the Beowulfian Freawaru. She was thus a Scylding princess, but, of course, once Ingjaldr was turned into a Scylding himself,

¹ A. Olrik, *Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie*, II, 84.

² *PMLA*, XLII, 301 ff.

he could no longer marry a Scylding. His wife, therefore, lost her Scylding connections, and came to be represented as daughter of Sverting.¹ But this change took away the motivation that we find in *Beowulf* for the feud between Ingjaldr and the Halfdanes. When the wife of Ingjaldr became a Sverting, the Svertings automatically became the slayers of Fróði, and it became the duty of Fróði's sons to take vengeance by killing the Svertings. This duty was undertaken by Halfdan in the account that Arngrímur gives. The weak-kneed Ingeld of *Beowulf*, who, instead of avenging his father, had married a princess from the house of the enemy, is still weak-kneed in Scandia, and has become villainous in the *Skjöldunga*. The sagaman uses him as a foil to his hero, Halfdan, who slays single-handed the twelve sons of Sverting, and thus wreaks the vengeance that his brother fails to wreak. The villainous Ingjaldr of the *Skjöldunga* is not allowed (by the sagaman) to take part in the vengeance, since his participation would lessen his own villainy and would lessen the glory of Halfdan. In *Beowulf* we have no specific statement that Ingeld divorced his wife; in the *Skjöldunga* the divorce is definitely recorded. The two kingdoms of Ingjaldr and Halfdan correspond to the two kingdoms that we find in *Beowulf*: that of Ingeld and that of the Halfdanes.

But if the Bardish lust for vengeance on the Danes was directed against the Svertings after the Bards had been made into Danes, what of Ingjaldr's feud with his opponents, the Halfdanes Hróarr and Hrólf (the Hroðgar and Hroðwulf of *Widsið* 45)? This feud remained, but its motivation had been taken away. Hence we find a new motivation: Ingjaldr was a villain, and so of course acted villainously! He attacked the Halfdanes

¹ A Sverting is mentioned in *Beowulf*; he was either a Geatish prince or related by marriage to the Geatish royal house. Since in Hroðgar's day the Geats and Danes were closely allied, it is quite possible that the Geats supported the Danes in their struggle with the Bards; see my discussion, *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I, 82 f. If so, there is some historical basis for making the Svertings opponents of the house of Fróði.

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out of sheer meanness, or, rather, his motives were not noble (such as the duty of taking vengeance) but ignoble: envy, overweening ambition, and the like. Indeed, his action was made into a horrible crime. The old term *Halfdan* 'Scylding' fell out of use and so was misunderstood where it occurred in the old songs. It was interpreted to mean King Halfdan (rather than his house). Ingjaldr's attack on the Halfdanes, then (recorded for us in *Widsið*), was made into an attack on King Halfdan. And since Ingjaldr had come to be thought of as Halfdan's brother, he was deemed guilty of fratricide.

The story of Ingjaldr's warfare with the Halfdanes needs closer examination. According to *Widsið*, Ingeld attacked his enemies at Heorot, the Danish royal hall. He was completely overthrown in the battle, but Heorot caught fire and was burned to the ground (*Beowulf* 82 f.). That the hall of the victors, not that of the vanquished, was burnt, is a feature of the historical course of events that to a poet or sagaman would seem distinctly objectionable. The poetic proprieties call for harmony, symmetry, balance, and the like, and the destruction by fire of the Danish hall would be more satisfactory, poetically speaking, if it were accompanied by a defeat of the Danish forces, while the defeat of Ingeld ought to take place at his own hall and ought to be rounded out by the burning of that hall. The *Skjöldunga* provides an expansion of the course of events nicely calculated to satisfy this aesthetic demand. Ingjaldr attacks and burns the Danish king in his hall; later, Hróarr and Helgi attack and burn Ingjaldr in his hall (*Bjarkarímur*). In each case the hall is the same, too, viz., Heorot, for Ingjaldr, after seizing the Danish kingdom, makes the Danish king's hall his own.¹

It will be noted that whereas in *Widsið* Hróarr and Hrólf

¹ Here the *rimur* agree with the *Hrólfs saga*. In *Arngrímur*, although Halfdan is the elder son, he is represented as illegitimate; hence, though he shares in the kingdom, his seat was presumably not thought of as at Heorot.

are Ingjaldr's opponents, Hróarr and Helgi are his opponents in the *Skjöldunga*. In other words, father has been substituted for son. This change was, I fancy, in large part due to the same craving for harmony and symmetry which, as we have seen, the sagaman elsewhere shows. It is neater to have two brothers attack and burn Ingjaldr than to have an uncle and nephew do the job. But of course there was another factor involved. The expansion of the single historical battle into two battles, the first successful, the second unsuccessful for the villain, made it needful to provide the villain with a victim in his first or successful battle. In view of the confusion of the dynastic name *Halfdan* with the king of that name, the inevitable person for the part of victim was of course Halfdan, the father of Hróarr. Hence we find Ingjaldr killing Halfdan in the first battle, and being killed by Hróarr and Helgi in the second battle. The brothers here avenge their father. That Helgi should oust Hrólfr is thus natural enough: the proper men to avenge a father are surely his sons!

We have considered, so far, two expansions of the historical material. In the *Hrólfs saga* tradition, Fróði's fall at the hands of Hróarr was interpreted as the second act in a sequence of events. A first act was supplied: Fróði was made to attack and kill Hróarr's father Halfdan. The second act thus became a wreaking of vengeance for the first. In this tradition, Ingjaldr did not appear, and no use was made of his historical fight at Heorot. The *Skjöldunga* tradition, on the other hand, grew out of Ingjaldr's fight at Heorot. His fall was interpreted as the second act in a sequence of events. Since the true first act (viz., the events leading up to Ingeld's marriage with Freawaru) had been separated altogether from the fall of Ingjaldr and made into another story, a fictitious first act was supplied: Ingjaldr was made to get possession of Heorot by attacking and killing Halfdan, its proper owner. The second act thus became a wreaking of vengeance for the first.

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What effect did these two traditions have on each other? They must have influenced each other more or less, since in their final forms they are so similar. Of the two first acts, that in the *Hrólfs saga* tradition certainly strikes one as the simpler. One may conjecture that it developed first, and furnished the model for the first act of the *Skjöldunga* tradition. Of the two second acts, one cannot say that either preceded the other, since each goes back to a historical event. But the use of two avengers, soundly based on history in the *Skjöldunga*, has no such basis in the *Hrólfs saga*, where we should expect Hróarr and Hróarr only. The introduction of Helgi in the *Hrólfs saga* vengeance story, then, is probably due to influence from the *Skjöldunga-saga* tradition.

When was this influence put forth? Fortunately enough, we can give an approximate date. In the *Grottasöngur* (tenth century) we are told that the son of Yrsa is destined to avenge Fróði on the Halfdanes. In other words, Hrólfr will kill Hróarr.¹ Obviously, for the poet, Hrólfr's father Helgi had nothing to do with the death of Fróði. From English sources we can infer with great probability that Hrólfr killed Hróarr. The *Grottasöngur* represents this slaying as vengeance taken for the murder of Fróði. In other words, Hróarr was Fróði's bane. The poet knew the *Hrólfs saga* tradition in its original form. But by the time of Saxo the influence of the *Skjöldunga* had had its effect: in Saxo's seventh book we find the brothers Harald (=Hróarr) and Haldan (=Helgi) carrying out the vengeance together.

We come now to the third act of our story: the murder of Fróði (or Ingjaldr) is avenged. It is worthy of note, in the first place, that the person whom the avenger attacks is regularly Hróarr; in no case do we find any attack made on Helgi. This of course reflects the *Hrólfs saga* tradition in its original form: although the second act has been modified by the inclusion of Helgi, the third act, which, like the first, grew out of the second,

¹ See my discussion, *AfnF*, XLII, 237 ff.

is based on the assumption that Hróarr, and Hróarr alone, was Fróði's bane. In the *Bjarkarímur*, however, we find an interesting survival. Agnarr, son of Ingjaldr, attacks, not Helgi, but Hrólfr. This Agnarr is an old saga-figure. He appears as son of Ingjaldr in as early a monument as the *Bjarkamál*, and Olrik even looks on him as historical.¹ I cannot go so far as that, but I would agree that Agnarr took his father's place in a very early stage of the development of the Hrólfr (as against the Ingjaldr) cycle; see further below. His attack on Hrólfr thus reflects the actual attack that Ingeld made on Hroðwulf (and Hroðgar) at Heorot, an attack told of in *Widsið*.

Who was Fróði's avenger? In our oldest and most authoritative Icelandic source, the *Grottasöngur*, we are told that Hrólfr avenged Fróði. This fits in with the evidence of the English monuments, and must be taken as accurate, although of course Hrólfr killed Hróarr for reasons quite unconnected with Fróði; in other words, Hrólfr was Fróði's avenger in effect, not in purpose, as the poet knew perfectly well. But Hrólfr had done more than kill Hróarr. He had also killed Hróarr's son Hrærekr, as we know from the *Bjarkamál*. This Hrærekr seems to have been remembered in Scandia simply as an opponent of Hrólfr's; at any rate, we know his proper parentage only through *Beowulf*. He goes under the name *Eric* in Saxo's seventh book; under the name *Hrærek* in the *Bjarkarímur*; under the name *Rærecus* in *Arngrímur*; and under the name *Hrókr* in the *Hrólfs saga*. In the following I shall refer to him as *Hrærekr*, whatever the monument.²

In the monuments that we are now examining, Hrólfr as bane of Hróarr is replaced by Hrærekr; as bane of Hrærekr, by Helgi. Into the reasons for this shift of parts I shall not go here, except to point out that when Hrærekr was made slayer

¹ A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 329.

² That all the name-forms go back to an original *Hrærekr* is clear enough; see A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 172.

of Hróarr, Hrólfr was relieved of the odium of a most discreditable murder and a motivation was supplied for his slaying of Hrærekr, while the later transfer of the slaying of Hrærekr from Hrólfr to Helgi was not unnatural, since Hróarr would more fittingly be avenged by his brother, the next of kin, than by a nephew. But another matter claims our attention. In the *Grottasöngur*, Hrólfr is not called by his proper name; he is referred to as *burr ok bróðir*, 'son and brother,' of Yrsa. The reference, of course, is to the old story according to which Helgi, unaware that Yrsa was his daughter, took her to wife. Hrólfr, the fruit of the union, was thus both son and brother of Yrsa. When now Hrærekr took Hrólfr's place as slayer of Hróarr, Yrsa obviously no longer belonged in the ensemble, and a certain Signý took her place. But which place? Yrsa was both mother and sister of Hrólfr! In the *Hrólfs saga* Signý is Hrærekr's mother; in Arngrímur, his sister. Again, when Helgi later took Hrólfr's place as slayer of Hrærekr, the same Signý took Yrsa's place: in Saxo's seventh book, Signý is Helgi's (Haldan's) mother; in the *Skjöldunga* and the *Hrólfs saga*, his sister. These correspondences show that the Signý of our saga-group is simply a substitution for an original Yrsa. It may further be noted that where Signý is used as a mother, her son has no sister; where she is used as a sister, however, a mother is provided as well, for though a man can do without a sister, a mother he must have! This mother, Sigríðr, has a name in *Sig-*, evidently formed on the model of *Signý*. She is, in fact, a mere doublet of Signý, and, like Signý, goes back to an original Yrsa.

But why did the sagamen give to Yrsa's substitute the name *Signý*? The origin of the name is clear enough. It is derived from the Signý of the *Völsungasaga*, and is by far the most appropriate name the sagaman could possibly have found to give to Yrsa's substitute, for Signý, like Yrsa, conceived a son in incest, and her mate, like Helgi, committed the incest unwittingly.

tingly. The influence of the daughter of Völsungr on our saga-group is not confined to her name. When Sigríðr marries her first husband's murderer she is acting like Yrsa (who in the *Hrólfs saga* does the same thing), but when she allows herself to be burned with her husband she is acting like the Signý of the *Völsungasaga*.

Olrik in his discussion of Yrsa (*op. cit.*, I, 154) observes that Yrsa's is the only name that has survived of all the women who married Scylding princes. He ingeniously explains that Yrsa's name survived because her son was so often called by his mother's name (his father having died early, as we know from *Beowulf*). However this may be, it remains true that Hrólfr and his mother-sister are very closely knit together in the old stories. The stories that we are now studying are a striking exemplification of this. Hrólfr's personality was so bound up with that of Yrsa that the savor carried over to his substitutes, and the sagamen could not put Hrærekr or Helgi in place of Hrólfr without binding to him a mother or sister (or both) whose name or deeds would rouse associations akin to those which Yrsa's name evoked.

Signý, then, is the daughter of Halfdan, not in her own right, but simply because she is the sister of Helgi; and she is Helgi's sister for no other reason than that Helgi needed a sister to support him in his capacity as substitute for Hrólfr. As such a support, Signý stands for an original Yrsa, and can lay no claim to antiquity or historicity. What bearing does her existence have on the *Beowulf* passage with which this paper began? If it has any bearing at all, it can serve only to promote the claims of Yrsa as daughter of Healfdene.¹ But for my part I cannot see that Signý throws any light whatever on our prob-

¹ Yrsa as daughter of Healfdene was first suggested by Miss M. G. Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic History in the Migration Period*, pp. 82 ff. Miss Clarke took as historical the incest referred to in the *Grottasöngur*, but this can hardly be right; see A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 155 ff.

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lem. If I have spent so much time on her, it is because some very eminent philologists have gone so far as to insert her name in the text of the English poem. I hope I have shown that she does not belong there. If so, the ground is cleared for further work.

Signý, as we have seen, does not go back to a historical daughter of Halfdan, but came into being by virtue of a deliberate change in the old tradition made by a sagaman for his own literary purposes. In other words, the genuine Scandian tradition, so far as it has been preserved to us, knows nothing of a daughter of Halfdan. But though no daughter of Halfdan's appears, a daughter-in-law of his does appear, and plays an important part in the old stories. I refer, of course, to Yrsa, the wife of Helgi and mother of Hrólfr. Did the English poet have Yrsa in mind when he wrote verse 62? Certainly the claims of Yrsa deserve full consideration and investigation, for she is the only candidate for the post. It is true that in the *Hrólfssaga* we are told of another daughter-in-law of Halfdan, viz., Ögn, wife of Hróarr. But this Ögn appears in no other Scandian monument, and is apparently late and fictitious. Her name, indeed, is obviously derived from that of her son Agnarr. The sagaman, who made no use of Ingjaldr in his version of the tale, wished nevertheless to use Ingjaldr's famous son Agnarr. He solved his genealogical difficulties by entering Agnarr as son of Hróarr. In a way this is neat: father and son both have names ending in *-arr*. But if the son got the second part of his name from his father, he must have got the first part from his mother, by virtue of an old custom in name-giving familiar to Anglicists through the case of the English prelate Wulfstan. Hence Agnarr was given an Ögn for a mother. Moreover, it is not recorded of Ögn that she married again after Hróarr's death (although Hrókr certainly wanted her!). On the contrary, she specifically refused to remarry. Nor is she connected in any way with any Scilfing, i.e., Swede. But verse 63 of *Beowulf* requires

that the lady marry a Swede. Ögn may, therefore, safely be ruled out of consideration.

Let us turn back to the English text to see just what the conditions are that must be fulfilled. And first let us take up the case of the husband, since his is the easier problem. Considerations of poetic style make it certain that *healsgebedda* is a "variation" of *cwen*, and *Heaðo-Scilfingas* of *..elan*. Putting the variations in the form of equations, we have *healsgebedda* (nom. sing.) = *cwen* (nom. sing.); *Heaðo-Scilfingas* (gen. sing.) = *..elan* (gen. sing.). The husband is thus a Swedish prince whose name ends in *-ela*. A complete examination of all our sources, both English and Scandian, reveals only one man who fulfils these two conditions. The man is the Swedish king, Onela, mentioned by name twice in *Beowulf* (vss. 2616, 2932). Seville, the husband of Signý in *Arngrímur* and the *Hrólfs saga*, fulfils neither condition: he is not a Scilfing, but rather a baron or jarl of the Danish island Selund; and his name does not end in *-li*, the Icelandic equivalent of the English *-ela*. The conclusion seems inevitable that the husband named in verse 62 was Onela, and we may accordingly fill up this blank in the text. Our verse, emended to fit our conclusions, reads:

62 hyrde ic þæt . . . [wæs On]elan cwen.

Professor Klaeber, who adopts this emendation (first proposed in 1841 by Grundtvig), adds in a note, "The name of the daughter (which need not alliterate with the names of her brothers and father, cp. Freawaru) apparently began with a vowel."¹ There can be no doubt that the lady's name began with a vowel, since otherwise the verse would lack alliteration. And, since Yrsa's name begins with a vowel, she fits the passage so far as this condition is concerned. But I must dissent from the statement that a daughter of Healfdene could have a name which did not begin with *h*. True it is that the *Beowulf* poet refers to the daughter of Hroðgar as *Freawaru*, but this is rather

¹ *Beowulf* (ed. Klaeber), p. 127.

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a title than a name. When we turn to the Scandian accounts, we find the corresponding character in the *Hrólfr* cycle bearing the name *Hrút*, while in the *Ingjaldr* cycle she is left nameless. The historicity of *Hrút* can hardly be questioned, since it is a name actually used in Scandia in historical times, alliterates with the names of the other Scyldings, and appears in the *Bjarkamál* itself, the oldest Scandian poem that deals with the Scyldings.¹ The English poet either did not remember the name of Hroðgar's daughter, or else he did not like the name. At any rate, he gives her a title high-sounding enough for any princess.²

The reason for the English poet's dislike of *Hrút* (if we suppose that he knew the name) must be sought not so much in the true etymology of the word as in the associations that the word would have for an Englishman. In Icelandic the corresponding masculine form, *Hrútr*, is used, not only as a proper name, but also as a common noun, in the sense of 'ram.' No such word occurs in English, however, and we may be sure that the lady's name was not associated with a sheep in the mind of the English poet. There seems to have existed in OE an adjective *hrūt* 'dark-colored,' but it is a rare word and can hardly have influenced our poet. He much more probably associated the name with the OE verb *hrūtan* 'snore.' Manifestly a name with such an association would be highly objectionable in heroic poetry, and none could blame a poet for discarding it and substituting a fine title like *Freawaru*.

Turning to the actual etymology of *Hrút*, we find that it goes back to a Germanic base **herut-*, which gives OE *heorot* 'hart,' on the one hand, and (with nil-grade of the *e*) Icelandic *hrútr* 'ram,' on the other. Compare Greek *κόρυδος* 'crested lark.' It would appear that the animals involved were named after the protuberances on their heads (horns or crests).³ For us,

¹ See A. Olrik, *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 67.

² I discuss this at length in a forthcoming paper.

³ See A. Noreen, *Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre*, p. 90.

however, the interesting thing about the etymology is the fact that the two names *Heorot* and *Hrút* stand in ablaut relation to each other. Has it any significance that Hroðgar named his hall *Heorot* and his daughter *Hrút*? Certainly *Heorot*, with its initial *h*, is characteristic for the Scylding dynasty, and one cannot dismiss the possibility that *Hrút* goes back to a noun, not preserved to us, which meant 'doe.' But here we enter the realm of speculation!

Olrik has made it clear that in Denmark two independent story-cycles developed out of the Danish historical material that we find preserved in the English monuments: the *Hrólfr* cycle and the *Ingjaldr* or *Starkaðr* cycle.¹ But how did the poets manage to separate the material into two mutually independent parts? In the English accounts it is very closely knit together, and in the Icelandic *Skjöldungasaga* the original unity has, in part, been preserved. If we examine the *Ingjaldr* cycle we see at once that the Scyldings have been removed and the Swertings substituted as opponents of *Ingjaldr*. Similarly, in the *Hrólfr* cycle *Ingjaldr* does not appear; his part is played by a certain *Agnarr*. This *Agnarr* is represented as son of *Ingjaldr*. We now see how the poets handled the situation. They gave to *Ingjaldr* a son, *Agnarr*, and transferred to this son the career that his father actually had (as we know from the English monuments). Hence we find *Agnarr* betrothed to *Hrút*, just as *Ingeld* is betrothed to *Freawaru* in *Beowulf*; we find a quarrel at the wedding, as in *Beowulf*; and we find *Agnarr* slain in battle with the Danes, as *Ingeld* is slain in *Widsið*. There are differences, of course, the chief of which is that the quarrel at the wedding and the death of the bridegroom have been made to come in immediate sequence in Saxo's prose account. But there can be no question of the correspondences: *Hrút* = *Freawaru*, and *Agnarr* = *Ingeld*.

The identity of *Hrút* and *Freawaru* would doubtless have

¹ Vol. I of Olrik's *Danmarks Helteedigtning* is devoted to the first cycle; Vol. II, to the second.

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been recognized long since¹ had it not been for one fact: In Saxo's prose (but not in the *Bjarkamál* itself) Hrút is described as Hrólfr's sister. We know from *Beowulf* (1184 ff.) that Hroðgar was Hroðulf's foster-father; Hroðgar's daughter, then, would be Hroðulf's foster-sister, and from this the transition to true sister would be easy, if (as actually happened in Denmark) Hroðgar gradually faded out of the picture and Hroðulf became the center of poetic interest. At any rate, it is clear that the transition eventually took place, although the poet of the *Bjarkamál* may have known that the lady was Hróarr's daughter, and the author of the story of Gram in Saxo's first book almost certainly had the facts right.²

Returning now to *Beowulf*, we find that the poet gives the names of twelve members of the Scylding family (exclusive of Healfdene's mythical ancestors Scyld and Beowulf), viz., ten men and two women. All ten men have names that begin with *h*. Of the women, Hildeburh, daughter of Hoc, has a name that begins with *h*, and Freawaru's name in the *Bjarkamál* is *Hrút*, a name that must be accepted as the true name of the princess. In sum, Healfdene himself, and all his descendants and kinsmen, male and female, so far as we know their names, have names that begin with *h*. We must conclude that if Healfdene had a daughter, her name, too, would begin with *h*. So far as verse 62 is concerned, we may cast our conclusions into the form of a syllogism:

1. The name of the princess of verse 62 must begin with a vowel.
2. The name of any daughter of Healfdene must begin with an *h*.
3. Therefore, the princess named in verse 62 cannot be a daughter of Healfdene.

But, though the princess cannot be Healfdene's daughter,

¹ I made the identification in my *Lit. Hist. of Hamlet*, I (1923), 85.

² See my discussion, *ibid.*, pp. 85 ff.

she can readily be his daughter-in-law. A daughter-in-law's name would naturally be chosen in accordance with the system of name-giving traditional in her own family, not the family she later married into. Hence the name of Healfdene's daughter-in-law might perfectly well begin with a vowel. Yrsa, and Yrsa alone, fulfils this condition. Nor would it be surprising to find the English poet mistaking Yrsa for a true daughter of Healfdene. We gather from *Beowulf* that Halga, her first husband, died young. His widow would naturally stay at the Danish court, and her status there would hardly be fundamentally different from that of a true daughter of Healfdene's. Among other things, she might be given in marriage, and, in fact, the Scandian records are a unit in telling us that she was given in marriage to a Scilfing prince. This agrees with verse 63 of *Beowulf*, which records that the lady married a Scilfing. The marriage probably took place while Hroðulf (her son by Halga) was still a child. Since he was a Danish prince, she could not take him with her to Sweden, but left him for Hroðgar and his wife to foster. The widow of Halga, then, does not appear at the Danish court as described in *Beowulf* for the very good reason that she had become queen of Sweden.

According to the English source, Yrsa married King Onela of Sweden. The Scandian sources represent her as marrying King Aðils (Eadgils) of Sweden. I see no reason to doubt the accuracy of either record. From English and Scandian sources alike we learn that Onela (Áli) was defeated and killed in battle by Eadgils (Aðils). Eadgils then took possession of Onela's kingdom. Presumably he took possession of Onela's wife as well. In my *Literary History of Hamlet* I have discussed these matters in great detail, and I see no reason to repeat the discussion here. Suffice it to say that there is a great deal of further material that points definitely to Yrsa as the "daughter" of Healfdene whom the English poet had in mind.

The etymology of the name *Yrsa* has been discussed by only

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two scholars, so far as I know. Olrik derives the name from a primitive **Ursiō*, and analyzes this form as made up of a base *urs-* (going back to the Lat. *ursus* 'bear') and a Germanic suffix. Such hybrid names, he points out, appear, not in Scandian, but in Germanic territory that long had been subjected to Roman influence. He adduces in particular the man's name *Ursio*, which occurs in Frankish territory from the sixth century onward, and concludes that Yrsa was hardly of Scandian, but rather of Frankish birth, since such a name as hers would hardly have been given to a Scandian child of the fifth century. But even though Yrsa actually were a Frank by birth, her name might none the less have an origin wholly different from that suggested by Olrik. It is not at all essential that Franks have hybrid names! Indeed, a Frank of the fifth century would be much more likely to have a pure Germanic name. An etymology of *Yrsa* that does not involve the use of hybrid forms must, therefore, in the nature of the case, be more plausible than the etymology that Olrik offers.¹

Now Finnur Jónsson has recently pointed out² that *Yrsa* may be a derivative (with *s*-suffix) of the Icelandic woman's name *Ýrr* (from a primitive **Ūriō*). This name occurs as *Ýr* in the *Landnámabók* and as *Ýri* in the *Hálfssaga*.³ Noreen classifies *Ýrr* as an *iō*-stem, *Ýri* as an *an*-stem.⁴ What was the meaning of the name? Jónsson does not offer an etymology, but marks the name as of doubtful meaning. Vigfússon in his *Dictionary* connects *Ýr* with *úr* 'drizzle.' Semantically speaking, Vigfússon's etymology is far-fetched. Hans Naumann lists *Ýrr* and *Ýri* under the Germanic stem *iwa-* 'yew,'⁵ but such an etymology leaves out of consideration the *r* of the stem. I am in-

¹ For Olrik's etymology see his *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, I, 151 ff.

² *Aarbøger* (1926), p. 195, n.

³ See A. L. Andrews's note in his edition of the *Hálfssaga*, p. 135.

⁴ A. Noreen, *Altisländische Grammatik*⁴, §§ 384, 401.

⁵ *Altnordische Namenstudien*, p. 98.

clined to favor an etymology not suggested by any of the commentators: I connect *Ýrr* with a base *ūr-* represented in the Icelandic *ýr* 'aurochs,' a base to be identified with the *UR* of Förstemann in his *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. Corresponding to the feminine *Ýrr* we find a masculine name *Urius* in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.¹ The man in question was an Allemannic king. As a base used in forming proper names, then, *ūr-* is old. The *s*-suffix, too, is old in women's names, as appears from the fourth-century Danish inscription of Himlingøie, which gives us the woman's name *Harisō*.² The name *Ýrsa*, then, in primitive form would be **Ūrisō*, and both in form and in meaning it would be quite parallel to men's names like *Bersi* 'bear.' We must, of course, in future write *Ýrsa*, with a long *y*.

From the etymology of *Ýrsa*'s name, then, we can draw no conclusions as to her precise place of birth. Certainly we cannot say she was a Frank, as does Olrik. Her origin will have to be determined from a study of the literary monuments. Now according to Scandian story, Helgi, while in viking, one day landed on a foreign coast, found a beautiful maiden named *Ýrsa* and carried her off by force. He made her his wife. In other words, *Ýrsa* was a foreign captive whom Helgi made his wife. The various versions differ widely among themselves, but they are agreed here, except that Snorri makes Aðils the hero of the adventure. These accounts are all comparatively late, however, and without support from earlier monuments can hardly be taken to reflect a historical occurrence. Such support, I think, can be found in the oldest monument of them all, *Beowulf*. I refer to the name *Wealhpeow*, applied in the English poem, not to Healfdene's daughter-in-law, the wife of Halga, but to his other daughter-in-law, the wife of Hroðgar. The name means 'Gaulish slave' and is certainly an extraordinary name for the 'lady of the Helmings' (vs. 620), 'the freeborn wife' (vs. 615),

¹ *Amm. Marc.* xvi. 12. 1 and xviii. 2. 18 (ed. Clark, pp. 91, 139).

² Noreen, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

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'the freeborn folk-queen' (vs. 641), 'the peace-bringer between peoples' (vs. 2017), 'the king's daughter' (vs. 2174) that the wife of Hroðgar is represented to be. Since she is called a lady of the Helmings she was presumably a Wylfing princess (see *Widsið* 29), and she personifies those friendly relations between Hroðgar and the Wylfings that enabled the Danish king to act successfully as peacemaker between Ecgbæow and the avengers of Heaðolaf (*Beowulf* 470 ff.). Her epithet *friðusibb folca* was thus more than rhetoric; it appears to be based on a historical treaty of peace and friendship between Dane and Wylfing, a treaty sealed by a royal marriage. Under the circumstances we may say with confidence that the wife of Hroðgar had no right to any such name as *Wealhþeow* 'foreign captive,' and the English poet was mistaken in speaking of her by that name, or, rather, by that descriptive epithet—for a name it can hardly be called. I take it that *Wealhþeow* is a nickname properly belonging to Ýrsa, and that the English poet, by mistake, applied it to the wrong daughter-in-law. He probably did not remember the true name of Hroðgar's wife, but did remember that a daughter-in-law of Healfdene was known by the nickname *Wealhþeow* as well as by her proper name. But the supply of daughters-in-law was distinctly limited. Indeed, since the poet took Ýrsa for a true daughter, the only daughter-in-law left was the wife of Hroðgar. The poet, therefore, needing a name for the lady, gave her that nickname which was all he could remember. We must assume, I think, that the nickname was historical, and originally applied to Ýrsa. If so, the English poem gives us a notable confirmation of the Scandian accounts of the origin of Ýrsa.¹

Verse 62 of *Beowulf*, then, may be restored so as to read thus:

hyrde ic þæt Yrse wæs Onelan cwen.

¹ That *Wealhþeow* means 'Gaulish slave' seems likely, in view of the Icelandic *Valland* 'France' and *Valir* 'inhabitants of France.' Olrik was therefore not so far wrong when he made Ýrsa a Frankish woman.

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The emendation may be looked upon as unusually well fortified. Let me conclude by recapitulating the argument:

1. The prince named in verse 62 is a Scilfing.
2. Therefore, his name begins with a vowel.
3. His wife's name alliterates with his own.
4. Therefore, her name begins with a vowel.
5. Therefore, she cannot be a daughter of Healfdene.
6. Therefore, she must be a daughter-in-law whom the poet mistook for a true daughter.
7. She must have been married to a Scilfing after her first husband's death.
8. This was not the case with the wife of Hroðgar.
9. This was the case with Ýrsa, the wife of Halga and the only other daughter-in-law of whom we have any knowledge.
10. We may conclude that the poet knew Ýrsa as wife of Onela, and that he did not connect her with Halga and his wife, both of whom had passed off the Danish scene early, leaving their young son to Hroðgar and his wife to foster.

HENGEST AND HIS NAMESAKE

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Are Hengest, leader in the Saxon Conquest, and Hengest, thane of Hnæf the Dane in the fierce struggle at Finnsburuh, one and the same person?

Criticism has been concerned a good deal about this problem. Since Grein¹ the identity of the two has been generally rejected, but of later years there is a tendency to return to the original view that there never was more than one Hengest, especially since it was adopted by Chadwick.² Recently the problem received a most noteworthy treatment from Dr. Imelmann,³ who adduces no less than thirteen arguments in favor of a solution in the affirmative. Still, the results of these earlier investigations are not satisfactory. This is due to the fact that the evidence on the so-called "historical side" has never yet been methodically examined and classified. The story as told by Nennius, sometimes even adorned with Geoffrey's fanciful digressions, is generally accepted as representing the current Saxon tradition. Yet Nennius was a Briton, and consequently the information derived from his work is subject to the suspicion of reflecting matter from Britonic sources that never was part of the Saxon tradition. Both Britons and Saxons may have preserved their own reminiscences of the events connected with the Saxon Conquest. In that case Nennius, although possibly

¹ See Ebert, *Jahrbuch* (1862).

² *Origin of the English Nation* (1907). For a survey of modern criticism see N. S. Aurner, *Hengest, a Study in Early English Hero Legend*, "University of Iowa Studies" (1921).

³ *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 342 *et seq.*

having come incidentally upon Saxon traditions as well, would naturally give the Britonic view. Thus his relation would hold a number of elements taken from Britonic saga or history, and in no wise representative for the Saxon legend of Hengest the invader.

Saxon historical evidence is very scanty. In an investigation into the origin of the Hengest legend all works later than Bede (*Hist. Eccl.*, Bk. I, chaps. xv, xvi) and the *Saxon Chronicle*,¹ such as the chronicles of Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, and others, cannot be regarded as independent authorities. It will be necessary to discard them altogether.

Bede's narrative may be divided into three parts. For the first (chap. xv, *Tunc Anglorum—debita stipendia conferrent*) and the third (chap. xv, *Non mora ergo*—chap. xvi, *fin.*) of these he drew from Gildas' *Historia*, as is generally admitted. For the second portion (chap. xv, *Advenerant autem—originem duxit*) Gildas has no equivalent. Here a trace of genuine Saxon tradition survives. It comprises three important statements: (1) the names of the three Germanic tribes from which the English population of Great Britain originated, and their repartition over the country; (2) the names of their leaders, Hengest and Horsa, together with the information that Horsa, whose sepulchral monument may still be seen in the eastern parts of Kent, was slain by the Britons; (3) the genealogy of the two leaders of the invasion. What concerns us especially at present is the second statement. Bede's words (*Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa*) show that he offers it as oral and therefore uncertain information, current among his countrymen, and not confirmed by a written source.

Next comes the *Saxon Chronicle*. This work was drawn up in the time of King Alfred, and even in its oldest version it was exposed to influence from Bede. At the same time it preserves

¹ Both works will be quoted here from Plummer's editions, Oxford, 1906 and 1892, respectively.

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the earliest records of Anglo-Saxon history, the nature and origin of which are still obscure. Perhaps they will always be so.

There are six annals concerned with Hengest:

449. In the year of the accession of Mauricius (i. Marcianus) and Valentines (i. Valentinianus) Hengest and Horsa land in Britain at Ypwines Fleot (identified by Plummer with Ebbsfleet in Thanet). They had been invited by King Wyrhtgeorn. First they supported the Britons, then they fought against them. Waiving the synchronistic reference to the history of the Roman Empire, the first of these two statements contains an old local tradition, the second is borrowed from Bede, whose words are rendered by the chronicler in their exact form (*invitata a rege praefato, quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc expugnatura*). The form of the name Wyrhtgeorn (for Old Welsh *Uortigern*) shows that this name had survived in Saxon oral tradition.

In the subsequent annals Bede's influence does not appear.

455. Hengest and Horsa oppose King Wyrhtgeorn at Ægeles Threp (probably Aylesford), where Horsa is slain. After his death Hengest and his son Æsc hold the kingdom.

457. There is a battle at Crecganford (Crayford in Kent), where a large number of Britons are killed; the enemy abandons Kent and flies to London.

465. In a battle at Wippedes Fleot (unidentified) twelve chiefs of the Britons are killed, and only one thane of the invaders; his name was Wipped.

473. After another battle, in which large spoils are taken, the Britons fly from the Angles like fire.

488. Æsc becomes king of Kent and holds the kingdom for twenty-four years. This implies that Hengest died in this year.

The account of the *Saxon Chronicle* is chiefly made up of local traditions that are sometimes of an aetiological character. The killed thane Wipped owes his name, and probably his story, to the place-name Wippedes Fleot. In the same way, no doubt,

Horsa is said to have fallen at Ægeles Threp because of his sepulchral monument in the neighborhood, which is mentioned by Bede; it has been identified by Plummer with the flint heap of Horsted near Aylesford. At the same time the sequence of battles shows the evolution of events. In the battle of Aylesford, Thanet seems to be won by the invaders; after the battle of Crayford the whole of Kent is theirs, and the third and fourth battles manifestly leave them lords of a large part of the country beyond. Thus there are three stages in the invasion of Hengest, whose historicity there is no reason to doubt.

The earliest Britonic evidence shares the succinctness of that on the Saxon side.

Gildas' version of the facts is obscure and uncertain in many respects, so that it could give birth to varying conceptions on several minor points. Vortigern admits the strangers, but it is not clear whether they have been invited or are merely admitted as exiles (. . . . *caecantur, et adinvenientes tale praesidium ut Saxones ad retrudendas aquilonales gentes intromitterentur. Quos sponte, ut ita dicam, invitabant*). Here is the origin of the invitation legend as found in Bede, though an invitation is not implied by the words. On the other hand, Nennius could explain the arrival of the Saxons as exiles, to whom the fighting against the Picts was committed afterward. They come in three vessels; their numbers increase rapidly. They form a militia and are supplied with provisions (*annonae*) by the Britons. When they are dissatisfied with the support afforded by the Britons, they start destroying the country. Success is with them until the days of Ambrosius Aurelianus. From that time they fight with varying chances until the siege of Mons Badonis.

Nennius largely builds on Gildas. His account being generally known, it will be sufficient to specify here its most characteristic elements.

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1. The names of the invaders, Hengest and Horsa, are given with a genealogy.

2. The Saxons are exiles and come in three vessels. The exile legend was developed independently by Nennius. It may be connected with the number 3, but it doubtless had its main support in the desire not to make Vortigern odious from the outset, and perhaps in the tendency to represent Hengest and Horsa as hateful to their own people.

3. The military successes of Hengest occur in three stages (Thanet—Kent—Essex, Sussex, Middlesex) as in the *Saxon Chronicle*.

4. In order to render the narrative more vivid, there are a number of accretions. During the first stage of the invasion the Saxons mete out an encampment in Thanet.¹ The giving over of Kent is accounted for by Vortigern's infatuation for the beautiful daughter of Hengest. The third stage of the invasion, when the three Saxon provinces are lost, is introduced by the well-known story of Hengest's treason. The relation of the quarrel between Saxons and Britons on account of the supplying of provisions is elaborated. The origin of the contents of all these episodes does not concern us here. They are all very partial to the Britons and therefore cannot claim a Saxon source.²

The remaining traits comprise a number of independent episodes from different sources:

5. The coming of Ohta and Ebissa after an invitation from Hengest. They cross over to the Orkneys and settle down in the north of Britain. Ohta does not appear in Kent until after Hengest's death, when he is made king of Kent.

6. The story of St. Germanus cursing Vortigern because of his domestic sins. Vortigern flies to Eryri, where Caer Guorthi-

¹ Hence Geoffrey's aetiological legend of the building of Thancastre.

² The Saxon war-cry, *Nimed eure saxes*, is probably due to etymological speculations in order to explain the name *Saxones*.

gern is built according to the instructions of a fatherless boy, who turns out a prophet at the same time. When, after the loss of three Saxon provinces, Vortigern resorts to this stronghold once more, St. Germanus fasts against him and he is killed by fire from heaven. The source of this episode is indicated as the *Liber beati Germani*, obviously a *vita* of the saint, but not that by Constantius, where this story is ignored.

7. The account of Vortimer's wars, which is closely linked up with the preceding episode. Vortimer is made king by St. Germanus after having driven the Saxons back to Kent in three battles. He encounters the enemy in four battles. He proves his strength by felling Horsa with an uprooted tree.¹ The names of three of his battlefields are given: the Derevent (Derwent); Episford (*britannice*: Rithergabail), where Horsa and Catigern, son of Vortigern, are slain; and *juxta Lapidem Tituli*. When dying, he leaves instructions about his burial, which, however, are not followed.²

Of these seven characteristic elements of Nennius' account Nos. 2 and 4 are due to a free elaboration of Gildas' *Historia*. Perhaps No. 3 is, too, although it may also be accounted for in a different way. The three stages of the invasion in Nennius' *Historia Britonum* correspond to those in the *Saxon Chronicle*, so that No. 3 might also be founded on a Saxon tradition. Number 5 can only contain a Saxon tradition of an early expedition to the northern parts of Britain, which is linked up with Kentish history by making one of the leaders the successor of Hengest. That it is historically reliable proceeds from the Irish *Annals of Ulster*.³ Number 6 is borrowed from a *Vita Sancti Germani*. Number 7 preserves a Britonic tradition on

¹ This seems an attempt at an etymology of the name *Vortiporius*: *qui vertit arbores*.

² There is an allusion to this in a Welsh triad; cf. *Red Book of Hergest* (ed. Rhys and Evans; Oxford, 1887), I, 300.

³ *Ann. Ult.* (A.D. 434): *Cetna brat Saxan di Ere* ('First prey by the Saxons from Ireland').

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Vortimer, which shows legendary elements; but the separation of the names of the battlefields from the first mentioning of the battles would suggest that the Vortimer episode was patched up from various traditions. Vortimer, no doubt, was a historical personality, and is identified by Loth¹ with Vortiporius, king of the Demetae, who is mentioned in Gildas' *Epistola*.

Vortimer's victorious battles cannot correspond to the sequence of Hengest's battles in the *Saxon Chronicle*, for the equivalent of the latter is to be seen in the three stages in Vortigern's making over a part of his kingdom to Hengest. Obviously there existed a Britonic tradition about three or four victorious battles won by Vortimer over the invaders, who were finally driven to the sea. In fact, to the modern critic the aspect of the struggle in the earliest sources varies a good deal according to its being viewed from the Saxon or the Britonic side. The chances of war may have varied, and the Britonic victories recorded by Nennius need not be altogether fictitious, although the lack of final success did not warrant their preservation in Saxon tradition. In one case, however, the discrepancy is rather striking, viz., in the battle that caused the loss of Kent to the Britons. This is the only fight recorded on both sides, as appears from the note about Horsa being slain. The *Saxon Chronicle* localizes it at Ægeles Threp, Nennius at a place called *in lingua eorum Episford, in nostra autem Rithergabail*.² The different localization shows that Nennius was not acquainted with the Saxon traditions as known from the *Saxon Chronicle*. Still, the identification of Rithergabail, the locality mentioned in Britonic tradition, with Episford, proves that some other Saxon local traditions were not unknown to Nennius. For Episford can mean only the same locality as Ypwines Fleot (Ebbsfleet), the first landing-place of the Saxons according to the *Saxon Chronicle*.

¹ J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion* (Paris, 1913), II, 241, n.

² Thus MS X. The other MSS have corrupt forms only.

So far the account of Nennius has been traced from early Britonic traditions with the exception of the episode of Ohta and Ebissa's expedition to the north and perhaps a few other traits. But for Hengest and Horsa themselves, these two are the only names of Saxon chiefs preserved in the *Historia Britonum*. Hence it may be assumed that Nennius also learned the names of the two leaders of the first invasion from Saxon tradition. This is confirmed by two considerations. At their first mention these names are followed by a genealogy that largely agrees with that of Saxon sources. Besides, Gildas does not give any names of Saxon chiefs. Evidently the oldest Britonic tradition was not concerned about Saxon names. In the same way the *Saxon Chronicle* does not preserve any Britonic names, except Wyrtegeorn, not even that of Catigern. The uncorrupt form in which the names Hengest and Horsa occur in the *Historia Britonum* is another proof of their being borrowed by Nennius from a Saxon source.

If Hengest the invader originally belonged to Saxon tradition only, his legend as told by Nennius need not occupy us any longer. The information furnished about him by Bede and the *Saxon Chronicle* is unfortunately of a very summary character. It remains to examine his position in Saxon genealogical tradition.

The pedigrees of the Kentish kings down from Hengest in different sources are at variance with each other. Nennius calls Ohta a son of Hengest. As has been argued above, this statement must be derived from an early Saxon source. It is confirmed by the pedigree of Kentish kings given by Nennius (§ 63: *Hengest genuit Ocltha genuit Ossa genuit Eormoric genuit Ealdberht genuit Ealdbald genuit Ercunberht genuit Ecgeberth*) and by one of the Saxon genealogies in the *Liber Vitae*¹ (*Æðelberht Uihtræding, Uihtræd Ecgeberhting, Ecgeberht Erconberhting, Erconberht Eadbalding, Eadbald Eðilberhting, Eðilberht Iurmenricing,*

¹ Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, p. 171. Cf. also my dissertation, *De oudste Angelsaksische en Keltische geschiedbronnen* (Middelburg, 1911), pp. 42 et seq.

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Iurmenric O(esing), Oese Ocging, Ocga Hengesting). Thus, waiving the exact forms of the names, Ocga is Hengest's son, Oese his grandson. The *Saxon Chronicle* has no genealogy of Kentish kings. Here Æsc is the son and successor of Hengest; after him no kings of Kent are recorded until Æthelbert I, who is the son of Eormenric (in MS F only).

Bede gives the solution of the problem: *Ædilberct filius Irminrici, cuius pater Octa cuius pater Oeric cognomento Oisc a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare. Cuius pater Hengest, qui cum filio suo Oisc invitatus a Vurtigerno Britanniā primus intravit, ut supra retulimus.*¹ Bede's Octa can only be the same as Octha (Nennius) or Ocga (*Liber Vitae*); so Oeric must be identical with Ossa (Nennius) or Oese (*Liber Vitae*). In the *Hist. Eccl.* Octa and Oeric have interchanged places. The reason is obvious. Bede identified Oeric-Oese (tradition was not certain as to the exact name) with Oisc-Æsc, the supposed ancestor of the royal line of the Oiscingas or Æscingas. That this honor was conferred on Oeric-Oese rather than Octa-Ocga was probably in consequence of the greater similarity between this name and Oisc. The tradition that Oisc-Æsc was Hengest's son existed independently from Bede, as appears from the *Saxon Chronicle*, although, of course, it has no historical or genealogical foundations. Originally Æsc was neither the son of Hengest nor a link in the Kentish genealogy, but the eponymous ancestor of the royal race of the Æscingas (*Askingōs). He reminds us of Askr, the ancestor of the human race according to Eddaic tradition.² As far as alliteration is concerned, he fitted in well with the remaining names of the Kentish pedigree.

In the case of Hengest, genealogical alliteration is lacking. This makes him look rather spurious in the list of the Æscingas. Besides, although a descent from Woden may have been established for Æsc as for other eponymous heroes at an early period,

¹ *Hist. Eccl.*, Bk. V, chap. ii.

² *Völuspá*, st. 16.

there is no room for a historical person like Hengest in the chain between Woden and Æsc. If it should be argued that Æsc was not introduced as an ordinary link into the Kentish genealogy until Bede or his direct source, it should be kept in mind that this was done only in order to make him yield his position as an ancestor of the royal race of Kent to a person still worthier than he of this distinction, namely, Hengest. Hengest is a stranger in the sequence of Kentish kings. He owes his adoption into their pedigree to his fame as the first invader of Kent.

Modern criticism has been hampered by the mass of legendary tradition that accumulated about Hengest in the course of time. But its bulk can be traced back to Nennius and the Britonic legend of the Saxon Conquest by successive stages. Now for the names of the invaders, Nennius was indebted to Saxon authorities, and these told no more about him than we read in the *Saxon Chronicle*. Hengest came over to Britain with his brother Horsa, who was slain in one of the four battles they waged against the Britons. King Wyrtegeorn was defeated and had to give over to the invaders, first, Thanet, then the whole of Kent, and finally a large part of Southern England. All other connections in which the names Hengest and Horsa occur are speculative and fictitious. Primitive Saxon tradition is the only starting-point for the study of the Hengest legend. With regard to the problem of the identity of Hengest the invader and Hengest the thane, this conclusion is of primary importance.

Unfortunately this has never been sufficiently realized by critics, whether rejecting or accepting this identity. For a survey of their views I have already referred to N. S. Aurner's work on the Hengest legend. She does not mention, however, the exhaustive treatment the problem received from Dr. Imelmann.¹ Here the relation of Nennius, and even Geoffrey,² is re-

¹ *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 342 *et seq.*

² So for the name of Vortigern's daughter, whom Imelmann calls **Hrōðwyn*, from Geoffrey's *Rowena*. In Welsh, however, the name is *Rhonwenn!*

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garded as a genuine historical authority, and compared with the Old English saga of the fight at Finnsburh. The history of modern philology cannot boast of many works so rich in ingenious suggestions as Dr. Imelmann's *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie*. However, the chapter about the two Hengests rests on very weak foundations. Until Dr. Imelmann, criticism had been chiefly concerned with the question of whether in the Finn-episode in *Beowulf* there is an allusion to Hengest's death or not. Only in the latter case, it was argued, could he have started a fresh chapter of his career after the fight at Finnsburh by entering King Vortigern's service as the head of his militia. Kemp Malone, I think, has shown once and for all that such an allusion is altogether absent from the Finn-episode in *Beowulf*.¹ So from this side no objections can be raised. But Imelmann's object is quite a different thing. His contention is that the two stories about Hengest are identical: Vortigern is Finn, Horsa is Hnæf, *Hroðwyn (!) is Hildeburh, the hidden *seaxas* are Hengest's famous sword, etc. Apart from all other considerations this theory may be disregarded henceforward because of its being wrongly built on the historicity of Nennius' fanciful account. This, as has been shown above, is in no way connected with the earliest Saxon records.

Can the identity of the two Hengests be either proved or disproved? Hengest the invader was a West-Germanic Jute; Hengest the thane, a Dane whose opponents are sometimes called Jutes in the Finn-episode. But, owing to the conquest of Jutland by the Scandinavian Danes,² the poet of *Beowulf* had no very clear ideas as to the continental Germanic tribes, as appears from his mixing up Jutes and Frisians. The lay of Finn, of which we possess only a fragment, may have put it differently; the retention of the tribal name of the Secgan for

¹ *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXV, 157 et seq.

² See, on this, Neckel, *PB Beitr.*, LI, 8 et seq.

the defenders of the hall might point to a West-Germanic origin for Hengest the thane also.

Saxon tradition records not one single well-defined exploit of Hengest the invader; it gives generalities only. Of his brother Horsa it knows at least one thing, namely, that he lost his life in the battle of Aylesford and that a stone monument was raised for him. Thus Horsa might be a fictitious hero who received his name from the cairn called Horsted (*Horsanstede), and Hengest would have been invented as his counterpart in order to complete the couple, an English Romulus and Remus.¹ If Horsa was slain prematurely, he was a second Remus; then Hengest could only be Romulus and the first Kentish king. Hengest and Horsa might also be old totemistic heroes of the horse-raising Jutes, who in a more rationalistic age came down to mere mortals, providing tradition with names for the forgotten leaders of the first invasion, just as Woden became the ancestor of all Anglo-Saxon royal houses. The alliterative qualities of their names fit in neither with those of their descendants² nor with those of their ancestors (Witta, Wihtgils, Wægdæg, Woden).³

All these considerations, however, are mere speculations. They can never prove conclusively that Hengest the invader was not a historical person, and one and the same man as his namesake the thane. In fact, evidence is too slight to allow of a decisive conclusion on either one or the other side. But there is another fact that can be proved, which is the next best thing to know: To a Saxon of the seventh century they were altogether different persons.

It is often held that the name Finn does not occur outside the story of the fight at Finnsburh. This statement is not exact. In an early genealogy of bishops of Lindisfarne⁴ the fol-

¹ Thus Chambers (*Beowulf*, p. 27) looks upon *Hrōðmund* as a fictitious counterpart of *Hrēðric*, son of *Hrōðgar*.

² See above.

³ Sweet, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

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lowing sequence is found: Woden—Frealaf—Frioðulf—Finn—Godulf—Geat. In this list the name Finn was not borrowed from the hero of the fight at Finnsburh, the name of his father being Godulf, not Folcwalda. That Godulf as a link between Geat and Woden represents a comparatively old genealogical tradition appears from his occurring in the same position in the West-Saxon pedigree:¹ Woden—Frithuwald—Frealaf—Fin—Godwulf—Geat. A similar pedigree was furnished to Nennius (§ 28) by his Saxon informer in connection with Hengest and Horsa. But here Godwulf is replaced by Folepald (i.e., Folcwald). Thus a Saxon of the seventh century identified Finn of the genealogy with Finn, king of the Frisians.² He made him great-grandfather of Woden, who was himself the great-great-grandfather of Hengest the invader. For him, Finn the Frisian, and consequently Hengest the thane, were no contemporaries of Hengest the invader. The age of continental heroic saga was supposed to lie in a remote past, far beyond the colonization of Britain by the Saxons. In heroic tradition, as it was current in the seventh century, no connection existed between Hengest the invader and Hengest the thane. From this conclusion it cannot be inferred that their historical personalities were not identical. The gap between fiction and reality remains. But in this respect we are not worse off here than in the case of most Old Germanic heroic sagas.

¹ *Saxon Chronicle*, MS A, A.D. 855.

² This has also been noticed by Chambers (*op. cit.*, p. 200), but here the only possible inference is not drawn.

BEOWULF AND THE *SAGA OF*
SAMSON THE FAIR



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One of the most interesting of the late Scandinavian re-workings of continental romantic material is the *Saga of Samson the Fair*. The influence of King Hákon Hákonarson of Norway, who reigned from 1217 to 1263, and the growing taste for foreign tales, led to the translation and paraphrasing of many romances that had first attained celebrity in Old French. Enthusiasm for the new literature spread to Denmark and Sweden, and to Iceland, which became the source of the greatest number of Scandinavian manuscripts of medieval romances. The material is extremely varied. With such sagas as those of Tristram, of Erec, of Yvain, of Perceval, of Floris and Blanchefleur, and with translations of poems of the *lai* type, are to be grouped many narratives less known, some based upon recognizable models, others utilizing common romantic themes and older native material, with a certain amount of free invention. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries an astonishing amount of story-telling was produced, in which the machinations of supernatural beings—trolls and dwarfs and giants—and accounts of knightly prowess and of viking voyagings are mingled with the familiar love-motives of romance and folk-tales. Much of this sounds odd in its northern dress, and it certainly represents a sad falling-off from the individuality and sobriety of earlier saga-writing. There is, nevertheless, a certain charm about its very extravagance, as if people condemned to live in bleak and lonely northern regions could hardly sate themselves with the marvels of love and valor in the sunnier lands to the south.

The *Saga of Samson the Fair* is a perfect example of the so-called *lygisögur*, and a better piece of story-telling than many. Jónsson dates it about the middle of the fourteenth century; Leach lists it as a thirteenth-century importation into Norway. It is obviously a composite, offering very pretty opportunities for source-study, and for illustrations of the blending of romance with Scandinavian heroic saga. The latter part of the tale has received some attention on account of the introduction of the theme of the mantle which tests the chastity of the wearer, derived from the French and told in the *Möttuls saga* and the *Skikkju rímur*. The whole *Samsons saga* deserves to be made accessible in a new edition; it should certainly be better known to students of early literature.¹

Our concern with the saga at present is the examination of one of its episodes, which recalls the contest of Beowulf with Grendel's dam. The resemblances to the Anglo-Saxon epic—and to the analogues of the adventure with the Grendel kin elsewhere—do not extend beyond this single brief episode. But they are noteworthy, more close and striking than those in other narratives that have received far more attention—the story of Orm Stórálfsson in the *Flateyjarbók*, for example. They have long been known, but, oddly enough, no one seems to have investigated them in detail. The aim of the present paper is to make the passage in the saga that is of interest to students of *Beowulf* accessible, in the original and in translation, and to discuss briefly its significance for the literary history of the Anglo-Saxon epic.

¹ There is a review of the late romantic sagas in Finnur Jónsson's *Den oldnorske og oldislandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1902; etc.), III, 98–120. For his discussion of the *Samsons saga fagra* see pp. 108–109. Henry Goddard Leach's *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921) contains an important discussion of the same subject. For the saga at present under review see pp. 232–233. The reader should note the "Hypothetical Chart of Foreign Romances in Scandinavia," pp. 383 ff. The themes of the later sagas are considered by O. L. Jiriczek, "Zur mittelländischen Volkskunde," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XXVI (1894), 2–25.

That this passage in the *Saga of Samson the Fair* has not been generally known is probably due to the rarity of the printed texts. The saga is accessible in print, so far as my knowledge extends, in two forms only: the *Nordiska Kämpa Dater* of Erik Julius Björner, a folio printed in Stockholm in 1737, in which the text is accompanied by paraphrases in Latin and in Swedish;¹ and *Samson Friði og Kvintalin Kvennapjófur* (Riddarasaga, Reikjavík, 1905), a small and cheap print, with no indications of manuscript or editor, which looks as if it had been struck off to meet a local demand for good old native stories.² An outline of the whole saga is given by Jónsson,³ who notes a MS in the Arnamagnæan collection (343a 4^o) and cites the edition of Björner. It is not clear whether Jónsson's outline depends on his own examination of the MS which he mentions or upon the edition of Björner. A brief summary, based, as I judge, upon Björner, is given by Leach.⁴ Poor as it is, the Reykjavik text seems to me preferable as a starting-point. It is based upon a slightly different version of the story from that printed by Björner; details differ, but I think there is little variation that is really of account in the episode that we are here examining. I give first a short outline of the tale, based upon the Reykjavik text, up to the adventure with the she-troll, which I translate in full, with the Old Norse text for comparison, and also the text of Björner for the passage in question.

Arthur, king of England,⁵ had a son called Samson the Fair. Samson was given to a foster-father Salmon, who had a wife named Olempya. After Samson had been with them eleven years, Salmon died, and Olempya went to live in a castle of hers

¹ The Latin subtitle reads: *VOLUMEN HISTORICUM, Continens Variorum in orbe Hyperboreo Antiquo REGUM, HEROUM et PUGILUM Res præclare & mirabiliter gestas.*

² For the former text, I have used the copy in the New York Public Library; for the latter, that in the Harvard University Library.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁵ "Ikke den berømte runde-bords Artur" (Jónsson).

in Scotland. At Arthur's court was also a beautiful maiden named Valentina, daughter of King Garland of Ireland, who had sent her thither as a hostage. Samson and Valentina fell in love with each other, and Samson asked his father's permission to marry her. But Arthur sent her back home, and Samson went away on adventures across the seas. Garland had possessions in Scotland, and fared thither, and his daughter Valentina with him. There she was pursued in the woods by Kvintalin woman-stealer, who was wont to entice girls into the forest by his wonderful harping. He was the son of a miller named Gallyn. No one knew who his mother was, but most people thought that Gallyn had begotten him on a she-troll, who dwelt under a waterfall at Gallyn's mill. Kvintalin tried his seductions on Valentina, but she was protected by Olempya, who was skilled in magic, and who deceived Kvintalin by tricks. Garland sailed back to Ireland without his daughter.

After three winters, Samson came to Ireland and asked news of Valentina. The king replied that his daughter had disappeared, and that he did not know what had become of her. Samson replied that he would go to Scotland in search of her. He stayed a time with Jarl Finnlaug, who told him of Gallyn the miller, who lived in the forest. Samson sought out Gallyn and found him at his mill beside a waterfall. He promised him gold and silver if he would assist him to find Valentina.

While they were discussing this, Samson was standing at the edge of the fall, and the first thing he knew he was seized by both feet and pushed down into the water. He had to match his strength against a huge she-troll. They wrestled together hard and long, and were drawn downwards towards the bottom; it was a matter of life and death with him to get the upper hand of her when they got to the bottom, and just about then he reached through the water for his knife, which he carried in his belt, and which Valentina had given him. He plunged the knife into her belly so that all the entrails fell out. When he was freed from the clutches of the she-troll, he dived under the waterfall, and immediately perceived the mouth of a cave, but he was so weakened that he had to lie there a considerable time. When he came to

himself after this labor, he wrung out his clothes and went into the cave, and he thought that he might never come out. He went far along the cave, and he wondered greatly at the size and the shape of it, and presently he came to a side-cave, and found there women's gear, precious objects, gold and silver. There was a couch with remarkably beautiful hangings, and the bed-clothes were of the same sort. In the cave he found the kirtle and mantle of the Princess Valentina, and her diadem and girdle. He took from these what he desired, and went to the end of the cave, and found at last a big door, which was let down in a cleft, but not locked, and when he got it open, with great effort, for it was heavy, he saw ahead of him a great and beautiful forest.¹

He then stayed awhile with Jarl Finnlaug, and went home laden with gold and jewels, having achieved renown.

Meðan þeir ræða þetta, stóð Samson á fossbrúninni; veit hann ei fyr en tekið er um báða fætur hans og honum kipt ofan í fossinn. Er það tröllkona afarmikil, er hann brestur karlsmensku á við; sviftast þau um fast og lengi og berast niður að grunni—verður honum það til lífs að hann verður ofan á henni er þau kenna botns, og nær því fljótt til hnífs er hann bar í belti sínu og Valentina hafði gefið honum, rekkur hann hnífinn í kvið henni svo út fara öll inníflin. Hann kafar undir fossinn, er hann er laus úr faðmlögum skessunnar, og finnur brátt hellismunna, en svo er hann þrotinn að kröftum að hann verður að láta þar fyrir berast góða stund. Er hann var kominn svo til sjálfs sín eftir volk þetta, vindur hann klæði sín og gengur í hellirinn, og hugði að hann mundi aldrei þaðan komast. Hann gengur lengi eptir hellinum,² og undrast stærð hans og lögun, en um síðir kemur hann að afhelli³ nokkrum, og finnur þar allskonar varnað, dýra gripi, gull og silfur. Sæng var þar með forkunnarfögru fortjaldi fyrir, að sama skapi voru rekkuklæði öll, þar í hellinum finnur hann kyrtil og möttul Valentínu kóngsdóttur, einnig hennar djásn og mittisband. Tekur hann af þessum hlutum það sem hann girnist og gengur því næst hellirinn á enda, finna hann loks stóra hurð, er hnigin var á klofa, en ólæst, og er hann hefur fengið opnað hana með erfiði miklu, því hún var afarþung, sjer hann framundan sér skóg mikinn og fagran.⁴

The passage in question as given in the text of Björner follows:

Enn a methann their voru thetta at tala, stoth Samson a brunni vith fossinn, oc toku their nu hondum samann, oc i thvi finnur Samson ei fyrri

¹ I do not try to preserve the shifting tenses of the original. ² Period here in text.

³ Comma after *afhelli* in text. It clearly belongs after *nokkrum*.

⁴ Pp. 14-15 of Reykjavik text.

til, enn takit var um hans bætha fætur, oc var honum kipt ofann i fossinn. Er thar kominn ein Trollkona, oc hefur hann ecki afl vith hana, enn thegar hann kemur hondum vith, sviptast thau, oc koma nithur a grunn, oc skilur hann, at hun muni ætla at færa hann vith grunnit. Oc bryst hann um, og getur nath *tigulknifi*, er Valintina Kongs dottir hafthi gefit honum, oc setur hann fyrir hennar briost, oc ristir a henni allann kvithinn, sva at hlaupa innisinn, verthur a inn sem bloth at sia. Er Samson nu buit vith at kafna, verthur hann nu laus oc kafar undir ithuna, finnur hann thar muni *hellir* nockur, oc skriður upp undir bergit, er hann nu sva mattdreiginn, at hann verthur nu leingi thar at liggia, athur enn hann mætti sig hræra. Enn er hann rettist vith, vindur hann klæthi sin, enn sithann kannar hann hellirinn, oc ætlar hann at hann muni alldrei komast fyrir hans enda. Oc nu finnur hann eirn¹ afhellir, sier hann thar mikinn *varning* oc marga gotha *gripi* af *gulli* oc *silfri*. Sæng var thar agiæta væn, meth *fortialldi* oc agiætum *blæum*. Stag var thar oc *knappar* af *gulli* æ endunum, thar voru oc abreid morg klæthi. Thar ser hann *kyrti* oc *mottul* Valintinu Kongs dottir, thar sier hann oc hennar *diasn*, *mittisband* oc *tigulsilgio*. Hann tekur her af slikt sem honum syndist, oc geingur sithann hellirinn a enda. Finnur hann nu eina *steinhurth*, var hun hniginn aptur enn ecki læst, oc geck hann thar ut, vissi hann tha ecki hvort hann skyldi fara (snua). Oc a hinum fiortha deigi thathann fann hann fyrir ser breidar gotur, geck hann tha i bygthir manna, var honum tha visat til sva at hann fann Finnlag Jarl.²

The resemblance of all this to Beowulf's adventure with Grendel's dam, and to Grettir's contest with the troll under the waterfall, is sufficiently obvious. It is noteworthy, too, that Gallyn the miller irrationally concludes, from seeing blood in the water, that Samson has been killed,³ just as the men in

¹ *einn*.

² J. Björner, *Nordiska Kämpa Dater*, chap. vii, p. 11. The folio is not numbered in consecutive pages throughout, but each saga is paged separately. The foregoing text is set in italics, with occasional words in roman. I have reversed this procedure, showing roman words in text in italics here. I have not tried to reproduce archaic forms of the letters.

³ "Gallýn tjáir honum [i.e., Kvintalin] af viðræðu sinni við Samson, 'og ætla eg að móðir þín hafi drepið hann því fossinn varð allur blóði drifinn er þau höfðu áttst við stundar korn í fossinum, en nú skulum við fara og finna hana og mun hún leggja á ráð með okkur.' Fara þeir þá í hellirinn en grípa í tómt, [period instead of comma in text] þykjast þeir vita að Samson muni hafa drepið hana" (Reykjavik text, pp. 18-19). The text of Björner (p. 13) omits the passage that would correspond to "því fossinn . . . í fossinum."

Beowulf, watching at the haunted mere, reach a similar conclusion in regard to the hero; and just as the priest in the *Grettis saga*, watching by the rope, believes that the blood in the stream is evidence of Grettir's death. It is only when Gallyn and Kvintalin explore the cave that they learn that the she-troll, Kvintalin's mother, has been killed. Particularly significant is the location of the whole episode at a waterfall, with a great eddy or whirlpool beneath, and a cave, which must be reached by diving under the fall.¹ Later in the story, Samson again dived into the whirlpool, and so under the waterfall, and came up into the cave as before.² This is strikingly like the situation in the *Grettis saga*, but, as I have elsewhere tried to make clear, it was also the original conception of the demon lair in the *Beowulf* story, which was later obscured by the unfamiliarity of the English with waterfall-scenery of the Norwegian type, by legends that placed the descendants of Cain in desert and waste places, suggesting the barren moorlands, and by the introduction of the nickers, who really belong in the sea, into the pool. If we would truly understand the famous description of the water where Grendel and his dam had their abode (*Beowulf*, ll. 1357-76), we must think of it as a blurred picture of waterfall-scenery.³

It will be noted that the contest with the troll takes place in the *Samsons saga* at the bottom of the pool, not in the cave behind the waterfall as in the *Grettis saga*, nor partly at the bot-

¹ Samson found Gallyn "at his mill at the waterfall, and beneath him was a deep pool with a swift whirlpool." ". . . við milnu sína við fossinn, en undir honum var hylur djúpur með hörðu iðukasti" (Reykjavik text, p. 14). "Oc um sithir finnur hann Galinn Mylnumann, oc var hann vith mylnu sina hia *fossinum*, oc hljop straumurinn a hana sem hægast, enn undir fossinum var kylur diupur meth miklu ythukasti" (Björner, chap. vii, p. 11).

² "Samson fór þá till foss þess er milnan stóð við, bió sig sem best og kastaði ser í iðuna. Kafar hann þá undir fossinn og kemst í forhellirinn, brýtur hann upp vopn sín og gengur í hellirinn" (Reykjavik text, p. 28).

³ "The Haunted Mere in *Beowulf*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVII (1912), 208-245.

tom and partly in the cave itself, as in *Beowulf*. Those who choose may compare details in the narrative with the variants of the "Bear's Son" folk-tales collected by Panzer. The presence of the belongings of the Princess Valentina in the cave, after she has been pursued by the supernatural Kvintalin, may point to a form of the tale in which the seducer actually bore the maiden to his subterranean lair, just as the folk-tales represent, in some versions, princesses in the cave in the power of the subterranean demon. The finding of gold and silver in the cave is of course a commonplace of the folk-tales.

Professor Child expressed the opinion that "Quintalin's mother, who is a complete counterpart to Grendel's, . . . was probably borrowed from *Beowulf*."¹ It would seem to be more correct to say that we have to do in the *Saga of Samson the Fair*, not with borrowing from the *Beowulf* story, but with a survival in Scandinavia of the Scandinavian tale or tales, which, combined with historical traditions concerning the Danes, Geatas, and other tribes, had been taken to England at a much earlier period, and there worked up into *Beowulf* as we now have it. It does not seem likely that the episode in the saga could have been borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon form of the *Beowulf* traditions. The resemblances that we have noted are rather to the earlier form of the tale, which we can perceive glimmering through the completed epic, than to the epic itself. The chances of a borrowing in Scandinavia, in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, from an Anglo-Saxon poem of the late seventh or early eighth century, are slight. Again, it does not look as if Samson's fight with the she-troll were based on that of Grettir with the monster under the fall. Grettir fights a male demon under water, the details of the narrative are different, and there are no significant verbal correspondences. Grettir attacks the she-demon with a knife, as does Samson, but Grettir hews off her arm, while Samson rips open her belly. The setting

¹ *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, I, 50.

is different; in the one case, on the rocks at a river gorge; in the other, at the bottom of the pool at the base of the waterfall.

The folk-tales upon which the adventures with Grendel and his dam were based obviously lived on in Scandinavian territory, reappearing, in vivid and detailed fashion, in the *Grettis saga*, in faded and hardly recognizable form in the *Ormsþáttir* and the *Hrólfs saga Kraka*, in the *rímur*, and, finally, in popular stories collected in modern days. Attempts to show the precise relationships of these survivals have often been made by scholars, but in my judgment little certainty is possible. The paths of popular story are too devious to trace with precision. But the general situation appears clear. The old "Bear's Son" *märchen* was too good to be forgotten, and it turns up now and again, in ever new transformations, attached to different heroes, combined with new material, and in new settings, as the fancy of the narrator suggested. This, I believe, is the true explanation of its presence in the *Saga of Samson the Fair*. The incident is not without significance, since it adds one more piece of evidence that the folk-tale telling of the contest with two trolls, which was combined with historical material and ultimately served as the plot of the first portion of the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf*, was in part localized at a waterfall, with a cave beneath, which had to be reached by diving under the fall. If this point be kept in mind, the interpretation of the whole adventure with the mother of Grendel will be greatly simplified.

Professor Child called attention to the interesting connection between the episode in the saga and the ballads of the "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" type. "The nearest approach to the Elf-knight, Halewyn, etc., is perhaps Quintalin, in the saga of Samson the Fair."¹ The musical accomplishments of the seducer are especially noteworthy. The elf in the group of English ballads just mentioned exercises uncanny power by his music (a horn in version A and a harp in version B). The

¹ *Ibid.*

BEOWULF AND SAMSON THE FAIR

Scandinavian ballads do not represent the lady as lured away by music, but there are indications that she is to be taken to an other-world country. A waterfall-troll is likely to possess ability in harping or fiddling; the older belief in the musical accomplishments of stream spirits is still remembered, as the pretty monument to Ole Bull in Bergen testifies.

The Nix (*nykr*) is called in Swedish *necken* and also *strömkarlen* ('the man of the stream'), who no doubt comes nearest to the Norwegian *fosse-grimen* ('the water-sprite'). . . . The Nix is said to apportion his instruction according to the gifts he receives. One who gives him bread he teaches to tune the fiddle; but one who gives him a ram he teaches to play perfectly. Of several peculiar, wild melodies it is told that the Nix has taught them to the fiddlers.¹

Into the complexities of the folk-tales and folk-superstitions that underlie stories of elves skilled in music and of supernatural seducers cannot enter here. A reading of some of the many analogues of "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" shows the difficulties of such study. Professor Child has reminded us that "of all ballads this has perhaps obtained the widest circulation."

The resemblances between the fight with the she-troll in *Beowulf* and that in the *Saga of Samson the Fair* must not be unduly pressed. But they are of distinct significance, and should be carefully considered by those who undertake to trace the complicated processes in the evolution of our oldest English epic. The task is a pleasant one; as the teller of the saga remarks, in closing, "It will not seem a long evening when this tale is read."²

¹ Peter Andreas Munch and Magnus Olsen, *Norse Mythology* (trans. S. B. Hustvedt; New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1926), p. 311.

² I have discussed this whole matter briefly in my *Beowulf and Epic Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), pp. 188-191. When I wrote the present paper, I expected that it would appear before the publication of the book.

BEOWULF UND DIE MEROWINGER

©

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Der treue Wiglaf, das Haupt des gefallenen Gefolgsherrn Beowulf im Schosse, sendet an die geflohenen Gautenkameraden einen Boten, der ihnen Unheil voraussagt: Feindeshochmut und Volkesuntergang. Indem der Bote dabei an den Schlachtentod des früheren Gautenkönigs Hygelac bei einem Raubzug gegen die niederrheinischen Franken erinnert, ruft er aus, 'immer seitdem' sei 'uns die Gunst der Merowinger (Hs.: eines Merowingers) versagt geblieben.' Der Vers verdient sorgsame Überlegung; er heisst nach Klaebers vorzüglicher Ausgabe 2920 f.:

Ūs wæs ā syððan

Merewīoingas milts ungyfeðe.

Durch ihn gewinnen wir nicht bloss das deutlichste der bisher gefundenen Anzeichen für die Entstehungszeit des Epos; denn 752 starben die Merowinger aus; später wäre ihr Name für die Franken nicht mehr zutreffend und verständlich gewesen. Er enthält auch eine politische Anspielung, die allerdings einem Gauten ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Hygelacs Tod, also nach Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts, wenig ansteht; hören wir doch in der Geschichte nichts von unfreundlichem Auftreten der Franken gegenüber den Bewohnern des südwestlichen Schwedens; nicht durch die fernen Franken, sondern durch die nahen Schweden ist damals die gautische Selbständigkeit untergegangen. Man mag sich wenden, wie man will—dieser Vers, gesprochen in einem so tragischen Augenblick und nach mehreren vorbereitenden Sätzen, emphatisch hervorgehoben

als Schluss eines Absatzes von einem ins Prophetentum gesteigerten Redner, hängt, wenn man ihn nur vom Standpunkt der dichterischen Situation aus betrachtet, in der Luft.

In der Verlegenheit dachte man an eine Verderbnis des Textes und conjizierte *mere-wicinga*, d.h. 'der Raubseefahrer,' was eigentlich nichts bessert, weil es nach dem Zusammenhang ebenfalls auf die Franken zu beziehen wäre (Wyatt-Chambers ed.), oder *mere-wicingas*, was auf Hygelac gehen könnte, wenn nicht die ganze Rede des Boten auf den Untergang der Gauten durch andere Völker gerichtet wäre, statt bloss auf den Verlust eines freigebigen Gefolgsherrn (Schücking, *Englische Studien*, LVII, 96). Holthausen in der neuesten (6.) Auflage seines *Beowulf* hat in der Tat *merewicingas* in den Text gesetzt. Wie lässt sich aber dann die Verderbnis zum *merewioingas* der Hs. technisch erklären? An *wicing* hätte man ein landläufiges Wort gehabt, das keinem Schreiber Schwierigkeiten bereitete, während *mereowicingas*, obwohl normal aus *Merowig*, *Meroweck* gebildet (vgl. Oswig-Oswiūs, Oswio- in Searle's 'Onomasticon'), vereinzelt dasteht. Der Vers wird bleiben müssen.

Gewinnt er vielleicht Berechtigung und sogar Gewicht, wenn man ihn vom politischen Standpunkt eines ags. Dichters vor 752 aus besieht?

Ein Überblick über die Berührungen des Merowingerhauses mit den verschiedenen ags. Königreichen in der genannten Periode muss naturgemäss von der ersten Prinzessin ausgehen, die aus dem längst christlichen Gallien über das Meer in das eben von heidnischen Germanen kolonisierte Britannien übersiedelte und zu dessen Bekehrung, also zu einer mächtigen inneren Revolution, an entscheidender Stelle beitrug. Das war Bercta (die Namensform nach Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, I [1731], 25), Tochter des Pariserkönigs Charibert und vermählt mit dem Kenterkönig Ædilberct, bevor noch 597 die ersten römischen Missionare landeten. Sie vermochte zwar nicht, den Sohn ihres Gatten aus erster Ehe, den Thronfolger (Æodbold oder)

Eadbald, sofort von den Göttern abzuziehen. Aber ihre eigene Tochter Ædilberg erzog sie so fromm, dass der nordhumbrische Gesamtkönig Ædwini, der Begründer oder Neubegründer von Edinburg, als er 625 um sie warb, nur unter der Bedingung ihre Hand gewann, dass er mit all den Seinen christlich zu werden versprach (Beda, II, 9). Einen Bischof für die neuen Untertanen, Paulinus, brachte sie nach York gleich mit. Die Tochter Eanfled, die sie Ædwini alsbald schenkte, wurde mit der Hilfe des Paulinus gleich bei der Taufe Christo geweiht (Beda, II, 9). Jetzt setzte dort eine Welle der Bekehrung ein—nicht ohne mannigfachen Widerstand zu wecken.

Der Gegenschlag liess nicht lange auf sich warten. Mercien, das südliche Schwesterreich, blieb heidnisch. König Penda, dessen Landsmännin Quœnburg als erste Frau Ædwinis auf dem Nordhumbrerthrone gesessen hatte, empörte sich gegen York und schloss sich dem keltischen Erbfeinde, dem Waliser Cadwalla, in einem Feldzuge gegen Ædwini an. Es gelang ihm, das Christenheer zu überwinden, bei Hatfield 633. Ædwini selber mit einem getauften Sohne aus seiner ersten Ehe wurde getötet und der Kopf ihm abgehackt—die Reliquie fand später in der Petruskirche zu York Bestattung. Ein zweiter, ebenfalls getaufter Sohn aus Ædwinis erster Ehe, stellte sich nachträglich dem Sieger, wurde aber von Penda *contra fidem iuris iurandi* umgebracht. Das ganze Angelngeschlecht nördlich vom Humber wollte der wütige Mercier vom Erdboden austilgen und schonte dabei nicht Weib noch Kind (Beda, II, 20).

Ædilberg floh, begleitet von Paulinus, und nahm mit sich ihre Tochter Eanfled, ihren Sohn und einen Stiefenkel, sowie einen angesehenen Vasallen und Kriegsmann ihres Gatten und einen ansehnlichen Schatz. Pendas Arm reichte weit; sie floh auf dem Seewege nach Kent in die Heimat, wo sie mit ihrer Tochter ein Kloster bezog; die beiden Jungen aber sandte sie weiter über den Kanal zum Frankenkönig Dagobert I, der ihr zweiter Vetter war und jetzt als 'amicus illius' sich bewährte.

Er nahm die Pfleglinge auf, und, als sie starben, liess er sie wie Königsknaben mit Ehren beisetzen (Beda, II, 20). Für den Mercierkönig bedeutete dies sicherlich keine Freundlichkeit. Die Chronisten haben das Ereignis, das dem Einheitsgefühl der Insel widerstritt, noch lange festgehalten und betont, selbst normannische wie Gaimar.

Eine zweite Prinzessin aus Gallien, Emma, war inzwischen nach England hinübergezogen und zwar ebenfalls nach Kent. Nach Florence of Worcester vermählte sie sich mit Berctas Stiefsohn Eadbald (Petrie, *Mon. hist. Brit.*, S. 635). Wir hören von ihr nichts weiter, als dass sie Kinder hatte.

Bei den Ostangeln wird dann fränkischer Einfluss bezeugt unter König Sigberct, der als Vertriebener 'in Gallia'—Beziehungen zum Merowingerhause sagt ihm Beda (II, 15) nicht nach—Taufe und Bildung annahm. Er holte sich, als er zur Herrschaft gelangte, einen Bischof 'de Burgundiorum partibus' und suchte seine Untertanen nach fränkischem und keltischem Muster durch Schulen zu heben. Ob damit ein Feldzug zusammenhing, den alsbald Penda gegen Ostanglien unternahm, nachdem sich Sigberct bereits in ein Kloster zurückgezogen hatte, wird aus Bedas Bericht (III, 18) nicht ersichtlich; mit den Franken jedenfalls standen die Ostangeln gut.

Von diesen freundlichen Spuren merowingischen Einflusses in England wende ich mich zurück zu Eanfled, der Tochter der Halb-Merowingerin Ædilberg, die sich durch die Sendung von Sohn und Enkel aus der britischen Insel zu Dagobert nachdrücklich vor aller Welt zu ihrem festländischen Heimatsgeschlecht bekannt hatte. Eanfled wurde gefreit von König Oswiu, der nach Tötung seines Bruders Oswald durch Penda die nordhumbrische Macht wieder zusammengefasst und hochgebracht hatte. Die Stimmung gegen Penda, der dem gefallenen Oswald noch Kopf und Arme abhacken liess, um sie öffentlich auszustellen, hatte sich in York so gesteigert, dass Oswiu auch mit einem kleinen Heere den Kampf mit ihm aufnahm; er

siegte am Flusse Winwæd 655, nachdem er sein eben geborenes Töchterlein Ælffled dem Himmel zur ewigen Jungfrauschaft geopfert hatte (Beda, III, 24). Penda fiel, sein Reich wurde zerteilt und bekehrt. Bei seinen Merciern haben wir fortan eine desto feindlichere Stimmung gegen das Königshaus York zu suchen.

Drei Töchter hatte Eanfled, und alle griffen sie aktiv in die Umformung Merciens ein. Alchfled hatte sich schon vor dem Untergange Pendas und ohne dessen Widerspruch mit dessen Sohne Peada vermählt, der noch bei Lebzeiten seines Vaters Südmerciens bekam. Er wurde Christ, nicht gerade durch sie, aber doch aus Freundschaft mit ihrer Familie, sowie umgekehrt Alchfrid, ein Sohn des Oswiu, mit einer Tochter Pendas sich vermählte. Man erwartet jetzt allgemeine Versöhnung. Aber auf einmal wurde Peada ermordet, 'proditione, ut dicunt, conjugis suae,' wie Beda missbilligend und etwas kritisch berichtet (III, 24). Die Untat bekam den Nordhumbrenn schlecht: drei Jahre nach Peadas Tode machten die 'duces gentis Merciorum' einen Aufstand gegen Oswiu, den Vater der angeblichen Mörderin, und setzten den jungen Peadasohn Wulfhere, 'quem occultum servaverant,' auf den Thron. Die Empörer blieben Christen, Beda hat daher gegen die Befreiung ihres Landes nichts einzuwenden (III, 24).—Osthryd, zweite Tochter der Eanfled, reichte ihre Hand dem Bruder und Thronfolger Wulfheres, Ædilred. Sie konnte die Leichenschändung ihres Onkels Oswald durch Penda nicht vergessen und liess seine Überreste zu feierlicher Bestattung nach dem Kloster Bardney, Lincolnshire, bringen, das sie samt ihrem Gatten besonders liebte und reichlich bedachte. Aber gerade diese Provinz war durch die Nordhumbrenn hart mitgenommen und gereizt; nach Pendas Tode hatte Oswiu sie direkt in die Hand genommen; befreit durch Wulfhere 658, wurde sie nochmals von den Nordhumbrenn genommen und erst durch Osthryds Gatten wieder an Mercien zurück gebracht. Dazu kam, dass die Königin gegen

den aus York vertriebenen Bischof Wilfrid, der in Mercien gute Aufnahme und viele Freunde fand, Rücksichtslosigkeit und sogar Habsucht verriet, indem sie sein Reliquarium als Schmuckgegenstand an sich nahm. Auf einmal meldet Beda zum Jahre 697: "Osthryd regina a suis, id est Merciorum, primatibus, interempta" (V, 24). Es scheint für solchen Mord einer hohen Frau in der ganzen ags. Geschichte keine Parallele zu geben. Der Witwer legte einige Jahre später die Krone nieder und starb als Abt von Bardney 704.—Ælfled endlich, die Gottgeweihte, wurde Nonne und starb als Aebtissin von Whitby, nicht ohne vorher, wie Florence of Worcester (Petrie, 639) meldet, durch drei Jahre über Mercien und andere südliche Provinzen geherrscht zu haben.

Darf die Merowingerstelle im *Beowulf* auf diese mannigfachen Spannungen zwischen den Merciern und ihren nordhumbriischen Beherrscherinnen aus Merowingerblut bezogen werden?

Nicht von Kriegen mit den Merowingern spricht der Beowulfdichter durch Wiglafs Boten; er vermisst nur—etwas ironisch?—ihre Gunst (mits), und Gunst pflegt man besonders von Frauen zu erwarten. Auch scheint ihm eine dauernde Unfreundlichkeit von Seiten der gallo-fränkischen Herrscherschicht gegen seine Landsleute vorzuschweben, wie sein Ausdruck 'ā syððan' beweist. Nur bei den Merciern sind, soweit ich sehe, solche Vorgänge und Verhältnisse vor 752 zu beobachten; was Bischof Wilfrid auf seinen Romreisen durch Gallien erduldet oder richtiger zu erdulden fürchten musste, ging eigentlich von den Karolingern aus und konnte in England jedenfalls nicht als nationale Unfreundlichkeit empfunden werden. Es kommt dazu, dass der mercische Widerstand gegen merowingische Prinzessinnen eigentlich schon vor 597 einsetzen musste, denn Bercta's kentischer Gemahl Ædilberct hatte damals das ganze Angelsland bis zum Humber unter seine Botmässigkeit gebracht (Beda, I, 25); Bercta erschien in

Mercien als Fremdherrscherin. Hiemit rückt der Beginn der mercischen Freiheitsbewegung bis fast in die Periode von Hygelac-Beowulf hinauf. Da wäre es gewiss kein Wunder, wenn ein Mercier als Epiker bei Erwähnung des historischen Gautengefehchts mit den Franken in die Gegenwart übersprang und mit emphatischem 'ūs ā syððan' ein auf die wirkliche Stimmung seiner eigenen Landsleute deutbares Wort sich entschlupfen hiess.

Bewährt sich aber die obige Deutung der Merowingerstelle im *Beowulf*, so winkt uns ein neuer Beweis für die Entstehung dieses Epos bei den Merciern und nicht weit von 700, sowie eine Ahnung von den hinter manchen besonders emphatischen Partien steckenden Empfindungen und Absichten des Dichters, z.B. betreffs Königslosigkeit eines Volkes v. 1 ff. und mordbereiter Herrscherinnen v. 1940 ff.

A NOTE ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *BEOWULF* POET



JAMES R. HULBERT, *University of Chicago*

In an article entitled "The Haunted Mere in *Beowulf*,"¹ Professor Lawrence has examined in detail the description of the place where Beowulf fought Grendel's mother. His analysis of the descriptive data brought him to the conclusion that the account is inconsistent.

We have, then, in various places in the poem, indications of three separate conceptions of the location of the mere: first, in the moors and fens; second, in high and rocky land; and third, in or near the sea. The reader may form his own opinion, from the preceding discussion, as to whether the discrepancies which have been indicated can be reconciled so as to show that the poet was clearly visualizing nature. The present writer has tried in vain to do this [pp. 219-220]. . . . The question for us to decide is whether this extraordinary combination of inland and seashore, of marsh and mountain, of fresh water and salt water was due to a single poet, recalling something which he had actually seen, or whether we have here to do with one of those contaminations of different conceptions of the same event or scene which are elsewhere to be found in *Beowulf*, as well as in other epic poetry based on popular material [p. 221]. . . . The present writer feels that the most reasonable explanation of the discrepancies in the description of the haunted pool is that the epic, in its present form, preserves traces of different conceptions, which came into existence at different stages in the development of the story. We must undoubtedly imagine the lay or lays on the general subject of the fight with Grendel and his dam as circulating orally in versions varying somewhat one from another. The original idea of the lair of these demons, whatever this may have been in the tale as brought to Britain, may well have been altered in time, so that the same general story might circulate in regions, not very far apart, with different stage-settings. Then, when these lays were finally utilized by a single poet for a continuous epic, traces of these different conceptions might appear in his work [pp. 222-223].

¹ *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXVII (1912), 208-245.

In the remaining twenty pages of his article Professor Lawrence with great subtlety develops a theory which he summarizes as follows:

A widespread *märchen*, in a form determined by the mountainous country of the Scandinavian peninsula, was attached, in Scandinavian territory, to the hero Beowulf, and placed in a historical setting. In one incident of this story, the hero fought with a supernatural being in a cave under a waterfall. Brought to England, still in the form of lays, it was ultimately worked over, with other material, into the present epic. Meanwhile, however, various modifications had been made in the story in the course of oral transmission, so that the epic poet probably found himself confronted, not with a single consistent tale, but with one extant in various versions.

And the inconsistencies in the description of the mere are due to the unfamiliarity of the English with waterfalls of the sort here described, the conception of Grendel as of the brood of Cain, and therefore "dwelling in the desert," and Beowulf's connection with the sea as a killer of nickers [p. 241].

It is an unpleasant task to attempt to summarize a scholar's article (especially when one feels limited for space) because one can't know what the scholar may regard as his most telling evidence or his strongest logic. In any case, I mean to be fair when I say that Professor Lawrence shows discrepancies in the description of the mere,¹ and that he mentions two hypotheses of what happened in the composition of this description: the poet was "visualizing nature," "recalling something which he had actually seen"; or he was compiling his account from inconsistent statements in different lays. The first view he dismisses as obviously wrong; the second he accepts. By doing so he ranges himself with Ten Brink, who worked out a theory of the development of *Beowulf* from a mass of lays, two or three of which sometimes narrated the same events. If Professor Lawrence's conception of the history of the haunted mere is accepted, it seems to me that the whole hypothesis must be accepted, for the inconsistencies in this one part are not greater than the inconsistencies elsewhere.

¹ See, however, Professor Klaeber's notes to ll. 1357, 1359, in his edition of *Beowulf*.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE *BEOWULF* POET

Whether there is a general attitude on the part of Old English scholars to the lay theory, I do not know. From the writings of Brandl, Klaeber, Sedgefield, and others, and from the present attitude toward the theory that lays were the sources of the classical and French epics, I had supposed that the view was discredited. Certainly Brandl is sufficiently definite in his repudiation of it:

In prinzipieller Hinsicht zeigte sich, dass Widersprüche, die auf dem Vergessen nebensächlicher Dinge beruhen, auch in Kunstdichtungen von evidentester Einheitlichkeit vorkommen. [He cites examples from Shakespeare and DeFoe.] Es empfiehlt sich daher, nicht den Wortlaut älterer epischer Lieder, sondern nur deren Technik vielfach nachleben zu lassen inmitten einer Neudichtung, die dem Grossepos zustrebte.

And finally:

Im wesentlichen halte ich danach den *Beowulf* für das Werk eines einzigen Dichters, der allerdings zwischen zwei Stilen schwankte, dem des Kunstepos, auf das er losstrebte, und dem des ihm angestammten Spielmannsliedes, von dem er sich nicht völlig zu befreien vermochte. Nicht der Text scheint mir—in der Hauptsache—gemischt, sondern die Struktur.¹

A similar view is that of Professor Sedgefield:

The B. looks like an experiment in a new *genre*. The poet seems to have aimed at telling a story, or rather two stories of one hero, the stories being of the common, almost commonplace type dealing with monsters and dragons. To make the story more interesting, more "actual," the author gave it a quasi-historical setting in the Scandinavian world, assigning the adventures to a legendary, possibly imaginary, hero. He then furnished the story with a suitable preface and inserted digressions based on current "lays" sung by bards. The result is not an epic, which postulates an advanced culture, but a romance of a quite original type.²

In his recent book Professor Chambers takes a less radical position:

That behind our extant *Beowulf*, and connecting it with the events of the sixth century, there must have been a number of older lays, may indeed well be admitted: also that to these lays our poem owes its plot, its traditions of

¹ Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*², II (1908), 1005-1009.

² *Beowulf* (2d ed., 1913), p. xxix.

metre and its phraseology, and perhaps (but this is a perilous assumption) continuous passages of its text. But what Müllenhoff and Ten Brink go on to assume is that these original oral lays were simple in outline and treated a single well-defined episode in a straightforward manner; that later redactors and scribes corrupted this primitive simplicity; but that the modern critic, by demanding it, and using its presence or absence as a criterion, can still disentangle from the complex composite poem the simpler elements out of which it was built up.

He then proceeds to show that the studies of Heusler, Ker, and Hart conclude that the extant lays are quite different in style and manner from *Beowulf*.¹

Finally, Professor Klaeber, after reviewing the theories of Müllenhoff, Möller, and Ten Brink, writes:

There is little trustworthy evidence to support positive claims of this sort. . . . Contrariwise, it is entirely pertinent to emphasize the general homogeneity of the poem in matters of form as well as substance and atmosphere.²

My purpose in citing these opinions is merely to show that a belief in the lay theory is hardly orthodox now. If the reader believes in that theory, however, I see no reason for his rejecting Professor Lawrence's view of the haunted mere and the larger conclusions that he deduces from it. But what are those who do not believe in the lay theory to think about the inconsistencies of the description? The suggestion that I offer is a very simple one. I shall not develop it extensively because either it will seem probable to the reader at a first glance, or, if his understanding of people is different from mine, it will seem so inane that he will reject it. The suggestion is that the poet did not visualize the scene because he was not accustomed to visualizing anything. As far as I am aware, there is not in the entire poem a piece of description that appeals to the visual sense. None of the characters is so described that an artist could draw an

¹ *Beowulf, an Introduction to the Study of the Poem, etc.* (1921), p. 115.

² *Beowulf* (1922), pp. cvi, cvii. Of course the same idea is implicit in Professor Klaeber's studies on the relation of *Genesis A* to *Beowulf* and of the *Æneid* to *Beowulf* and is confirmed by his analysis of the Christian elements in *Beowulf*.

authoritative portrait; the outside aspect of Heorot or its interior is nowhere so presented that one can see it. In one notable case, the position of Grendel's hand, scholars have tried in vain to determine what picture the author wished us to have. In short, it seems to me that the author of *Beowulf* was not of the psychological type that visualizes things, that holds visual impressions in mind, and, when describing, gives such details as make clear pictures to the mind's eye. In the case of the haunted mere, he did not recall "something which he had actually seen," perhaps partly because he may never have seen a place of the sort that his story required, but chiefly because, even if he had seen such a spot, he would not have kept exact details of it in his mind.

What did he do? What was the principle that controlled his choice of details? His story called for a fight between his hero and Grendel's mother in some place under water. For this incident he wished to describe a setting that would arouse a feeling of gruesomeness, horror, and foreboding; and he put together such details as, he felt, would suggest such a mood. Of his success, the admiration of all readers is a testimony. But it was a success in calling forth a mood, not a visualized picture. Note the details in lines 1357 and following:

They inhabit a secret land, wolf-houses, windy nesses, fearful fen-paths, where a mountain stream goes under the mist—over it hang forests covered with frost, the wood hangs over the water—a dread wonder appears every night, fire on the flood—no one is so wise that he knows the bottom—the hart, pursued by dogs, will give up his life rather than hide his head in the water—that is not a canny place—the mixture of waves mounts up to the sky, in bad weather, until the air grows dark, the skies weep.

It is surely obvious that the choice of those details was determined not by the desire to suggest a definite mental picture but by the desire to arouse a certain emotion, to get a certain tone. Every statement contributes to the impression of uncanniness; no detail is there merely for the purpose of making visualization clear. Furthermore, the same method is dis-

cernible throughout the poem. Everywhere the poet stresses character, action, noble speech, moods, and nowhere the mere appearance of people or background. The appearance of Grendel, his mother, the dragon, and the human actors in the stories is left vague; but the emotions of Hrothgar, of his wife, of Beowulf (especially in the last episode), and of Wiglaf are made poignant. Note also the descriptions of banquet scenes (ll. 1975 f., 2010 f., etc.); what was done is told, and we are informed that the "Weorod wæs on wynne" (l. 2014), but the look of the hall-interiors, of the benches, or the men and women is not suggested.¹

It seems to me unnecessary to discuss the matter further. If I pointed out analogous cases in other early documents, a reader not disposed to accept my point could explain them away as due to the existence of a source to which the author added inconsistent details; and good examples from modern literature are not likely to appear because authors are well enough trained in their art to avoid such inconsistencies even though they do not naturally visualize scenes. Those who have had the experience of reading students' themes over a period of years, however, must have come into contact with plenty of people who are not "visual-minded" and who produce just such inconsistent descriptions. For such readers, and for others who have some understanding of the psychology of authorship, I think I have given enough details to show that the inconsistency of the description of the haunted mere, the uncertainty of the position of Grendel's hand, and the vagueness of the visual description throughout *Beowulf* are most naturally explainable as the result of the author's individual mental make-up,² and that the

¹ In a later article, *PMLA*, XXXVIII, 547-583, Professor Lawrence discusses the dragon's lair. Here, too, he seeks to visualize the place, but he finds no inconsistencies. I do not feel, however, that the author visualized a particular scene.

² The statement perhaps should not be so limited. In all OE poetry there is little indication of "visualizing" on the author's part. Descriptive details are merely incidental and slight; narration and ideas are stressed.

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description in *Beowulf* is effective not because it suggests scenes that can be visualized, but because it suggests moods and states of mind.¹

¹ Perhaps Professor Klaeber had this idea when he wrote: "It certainly seems that the *nicras* and similar creatures have been brought in chiefly for epic elaboration without regard for absolute consistency. . . . It should be added that manifestly conceptions of the Christian hell have entered into the picture as drawn by the poet" (*op. cit.*, p. 176).

TWO TYPES OF SCRIBAL ERRORS IN THE *BEOWULF* MS

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Certain differences in the manner of work of the two scribes of the *Beowulf* are well known and have been frequently discussed, for example, by Ten Brink, Davidson, McClumpha, and especially by Foerster, *Die Beowulf-Handschrift*, and by Klaeber (*Beowulf*, pp. xci ff. and xcvi ff.) and Rypins (*Three Old English Prose Texts*, pp. xiv ff.; cf. also Klaeber, p. xvii). According to Ten Brink, scribe B is the more careful of the two, while Rypins holds the opposite view. In my opinion, the two views can be reconciled: The second scribe is more mechanically correct, both in the tracing of his letters and in the accurate adherence to the original; the first scribe shows more individuality and conscious correctness in his handling of the language. As to the mere number of scribal errors, there is not much to choose between the two parts. But the character of the errors is fundamentally different. Anticipating the result of the following comparison, I assert that in an overwhelming number of instances the errors of the first part are phonetic, those of the second part, mechanical.

By "phonetic errors" I mean those that appear to have been caused by similarity of sounds (such as the substitution of one spirant for another), or by wrong division of words. This type of mistake, amply illustrated below, may be due to incorrect hearing—*Verhören*—on the part of the scribe, or to inaccurate or indistinct utterance on the part of a person who is dictating, especially to "slips of the tongue"—*Versprechen*. Frequent occurrence of errors of this kind points with great probability to

writing from dictation, while mechanical errors (*Verlesen* or *Verschreiben*) indicate copying. (There is, of course, a type of *Verschreiben* that can occur with both processes, namely, errors that are due to the anticipation or retention or omission of similar groups of letters. These must be judged according to the character of the passage, and certainty cannot always be obtained.)

In the choice of examples I have restricted myself to passages of generally recognized faultiness. To name the sources of emendations would have been mere waste of space in view of Klaeber's comprehensive and accurate edition. New emendations or interpretations are not within the scope of this paper; if they have crept in occasionally, it was for the purpose of elucidating more clearly the character of some type of scribal error.

Inserted letters are given in brackets, omitted letters in parentheses.

THE FIRST SCRIBE

Phonetic errors on the part of the scribe cannot always be distinguished from those on the part of the person dictating, but I am not making any attempt to draw a line between what might be called the "passive" and the "active" defects of dictation.

A. SIMILARITY OF SOUNDS (preponderantly or exclusively passive errors).

The nasals are the most frequent sources of mistakes; linguistic history offers an abundance of illustrations for the ease with which they are interchanged, dropped, or (more rarely) added.

Omission of medial *n* seems certain in the following instances:

1. 1107 *i[n]cge gold* (cf. 2577 *incge-lāfe*; Singer, *Btr.*, XII, 213)
2. 1510 *swe[n]cte*
3. 1883 *āge[n]dfrēan*
4. 1176 *hereri[n]c*.

It may be claimed that these errors are due to the use of an indistinct nasal sign in an earlier MS, but the use of the *-m*-stroke for medial *-n-* is too rare to make this probable (cf. Klaeber, p. c, n. 3).

A medial *n* is inserted in:

5. 1836 *Hrēprinc* for *Hrēprīc*.

Omission of final *n*, which might with more assurance be attributed to an overlooked nasal sign, occurs only in:

6. 60 *rāswa[n]* (perhaps partly through association with the preceding *weoroda*).

Final *n* is added in the following cases:

7. 1031 *walan*, probably for *wala*, perhaps written in misinterpretation of a slight hiatus pause (*wala—ūtan hēold*).
8. 375 *is his eafora(n) nū* is accounted for by the initial nasal of the following word.
9. 1903 *gewāt him on naca(n)* rather seems to be the mistake of a copyist who interpreted *on* as a preposition governing *naca(n)*, instead of an adverb, but it may be an example of *Verhören*, or, for that matter, *Versprechen*.

Dissimilation of a geminated nasal is found in:

10. 1234 *grimne* for *grimme*; simplification in:
11. 255 *min[n]e*, 70 *þon[n]e*, 44 *þon[n]e(?)*.
12. 1318 *wordum (h)nægde* shows insertion of *h* between nasals, which the speaker had probably separated by a slight pause, for the sake of distinctness. A similar emphasis on the pronunciation of nasals led to:
13. 976 *in mid gripe* for *in nȳd-gripe (nidgripe)*
14. 1805 *fūse tō farene ne* for *farenne*.

On the other hand, the absence of such conscious emphasis caused the omission of nasal particles in:

15. 1513 *he [in] nīðsele*
16. 648 *gesēon [ne] meahton*.¹

¹ I mention this instance in accordance with the almost general acceptance of Thorpe's emendation, but I quite agree with Klaeber (see text and note, p. 149), who

r before a consonant is omitted in:

17. 567 *sweo[r]dum* (Thorkelin's A); it is inserted between broken vowel and consonant in
18. 902 *ea(r)foð*, 534 *ea(r)feþo* (but correctly *eafoð*, 602 and 2349). See also No. 31. The phonetic basis of these errors needs no commentary.

Indistinct articulation or omission of *h* explains:

19. 286 *ðær [he] on wicge sæt* (Klaeber does not insert *he* here, nor in the following examples.)
20. 68 *þæt [he] healreced hātan wolde*
21. 1868 *het [h]in(n)e*.
22. Glottal stop was misconceived as *h* in *Hunferð* (499, 530, etc.); the frequency of initial *h* in Germanic names may have contributed.

Spirants are frequently misinterpreted by the ear (cf. sound substitutions such as *þ* for *f* in Goth. *þliuhan*, *f* for Gr. *θ* in Russian). The first part of the MS offers these instances:

23. 1506 *brimwyl [f]*, *þā* (*f-þ* heard as one *þ*)
24. 850 *deog; siððan* (*-χ* before *s-* heard instead of *-f* in *deof*, Anglian form of *deaf*)
25. 707 *syn-scaþa*, dissimilation of *sc-* *sc-*. Likewise in 801 *syn-scaðan*.
26. 1106 *þonne hit sweordes ecg syddan scolde*, perhaps for *swyðan*, *sw-* being indistinct after *cg* (?).
27. 1862 *heapū* perhaps for *heafu*.

B. SANDHI forms are a prolific source of misunderstanding. Some have been mentioned above (Nos. 7, 8, 12-16, 19-22, 23, 24, 26). I add those caused by suppression of final vowel before (spirant) *g*, especially before the prefix *ge-*:

28. 897 *wyrm hāt[e] gemealt* (?)

does not consider the insertion of *ne* necessary. The emendation seems metrically inferior and does not really help the meaning. I translate, without *ne*: 'He knew that . . . battle was in store for the monster, (and that) after that they would (either) see once more the light of the sun, (or) darkening night over all. . . .'

29. 525 *wyrsan geþingea* for *wyrsena* (?)
 30. 516 *wintrys wylm[e]*. *Git* (in spite of the full stop)
 31. 457 *fere fyhtum* instead of *gewyrhtum* (for *ge-*). Mental assimilation led to *f* for *w*; for the omission of *r*, see 17, 18.

On the other hand, final *e* before *ge* is added in:

32. 1545 *seax(e) getēah*.

The voiced palatal affricate *cg*, when final, is often followed by a vowel glide; this explains the omission of a vowel (misinterpreted for the glide) in:

33. 947, 1759 *secg[a] betsta*.

Elision of vowel before vowel may have caused:

34. 84 *secghete* for *se ecghete*
 35. 668 *eoton-weard[e] ābēad*.

Contraction seems to have led to misunderstandings in:

36. 694 *hīe ær*, if for *hiera*
 37. 747 *ræhte on gean*, if for *ræhte tōgēanes* (contraction of *-te tō-*; *-es* omitted before *f* of *feond*, similar to the following):
 38. 6 *egsode eorl[as]*, *syððan*
 39. 875 *Sigemunde[s] secgan* (cf. Chambers' footnote)
 40. 1107 *að wæs*, if for *ād wæs*, shows spirantization of *d* before *w*.
 41. 1128-29 *mid finnel unhlitme* is clearly a sandhi error. I read: *mid Finne elne* (or *eal*) *unflitme* (*h* for *f* through dissimilation with *Finne*), 'quite without quarrel'; cf. 1097.

Since word composition and punctuation are not indicated consistently in the MS they are beyond the scope of this paper; however, I submit the following suggestions, as related to sandhi problems:

306 *gūþmod grummon* should not be changed to *gūþmōdgum men*, since no phonetic or psychological reason for such an error is probable. I read a triple compound *gūþmōdgrimmon* (*u* for *i* through association with the *u* of the first syllable), 'grim with battle courage' (dat. plur.).

1224 *wind gearð weallas*. Another triple compound: 'The walls of the home of the wind,' i.e., the coasts (the ocean = the home of the wind).

SCRIBAL ERRORS IN THE *BEOWULF* MS

1247 *ānwīg gearwe*, triple compound, 'ready for (single) combat.'

30 The punctuation

*þenden wordum wēold. Wīne Scyldinga,
lēof landfruma, lange āhte*

is better in keeping with the technique of the Germanic epic (*enjambement*) than a full stop after *Scyldinga*.

C. ASSOCIATION with preceding or following sounds seems to have occasioned certain errors, concerning which I should not hazard a guess whether they are to be attributed to the scribe or the dictating person.

Vowel Assonance:

- 42. 1070 *fr. es wāle* shows an erasure before *e* in *fres*; the characteristic double curve at the bottom of an *æ* is clearly discernible. Apparently the scribe, anticipating the *æ* of the next syllable, had written *fræ-*, but recognized the mistake at that point. It was probably a mistake of hearing, not of speaking.
- 43. 1051 *brim leade* (for *lāde*) *tēah*, anticipation of *ēa*
- 44. 1004 *ac gesacan sceal sawl berendra*: *gesacan* probably for *gesēcan*, with *a* through the influence of the *a* in *ac*, *sceal*, *sāwl*.
- 45. 581 *wudu weallendu*, for *wadu*, *u* for *a* on account of the *u* in the two endings.

Consonantic Anticipation:

- 46. 1333 *gefrægnod* probably for *gefægnod*, through association with *wræc* at the end of the same line (?).

Endings:

- 47. 1889 *hægstealdra* for *-a*, in association with the preceding *mōdigra*
- 48. 1857 *sib gemæn(um)* instead of *-e*, on account of the three preceding datives in *-um* (*folcum*, *leodum*, *Denum*); see Chambers' footnote.
- 49. 158 *banū folmū* (*m*-stroke) for *banan folmum*
- 50. 139 *sōhte* probably omitted after *ræste*

51. 149 *syðþan* (?)¹ probably omitted after *forðam* (*forðan*).
In these two very uncertain instances the second of two words with identical endings may have been omitted; *sīdra*, in the preceding half-line, may have contributed.

Inversely, we find:

52. 1559 *þæt* [*wæs*] *wæpna cyst*, *wæs* being omitted on account of *w-* of the following word.

Perhaps the conjectured omission of *hēap* after *hægstealdra* in 1889 should also be classed here.

Most or all of the errors of this group, at least 42–49, can also be attributed to optical association on the part of a copyist, but a comparison with the errors of the second scribe, which are clearly of a more mechanical nature, makes a phonetic origin much more probable.

D. DIALECT PRONUNCIATION—an Anglian dictating to a West-Saxon—is suspected as the reason for the following slips:

53. 1278 *sunu þēod* for *dēað* (?): Anglian confusion of *ēo* and *ēa*; *ð > d* dissimilation before *wrecan*?
54. 1026 *scotenum* for *scēotendum*: Anglian non-palatal pronunciation of *sc-*
55. 224 *eoletes*. While the word is obscure, the first part stands probably for *ēa* in Anglian pronunciation; *ēa(-letes)* *æt ende* is perhaps an epic variation of *þā wæs sund liden*: 'There was the sound traversed, the sea (-voyage) at an end'; cf. Klaeber, p. 135, n.

E. VARIOUS other instances of acoustic rather than mechanical errors cannot easily be classified. Such are:

56. 447 *d[r]eore fāhne* (dissimilation?)
57. 677 *wæsmum* for *wæstmum*
58. 1218 *þēo[d] gestrēona*
59. *gæst* in 102 and many other places
60. 1816 *helle* for *hæle*; the metrical stress may have given the impression of gemination.
61. 1229 *hol[d]*.

¹ Schücking, Klaeber: *secgum*.

F. ERRORS IN DICTATION. With a few errors the presumption is for a 'slip of the tongue' on the part of a speaker, although a mental aberration on the part of a copyist is not impossible:

62. 1020 *brand Healfdenes* certainly stands for *bearn H.*; the speaker's (or writer's?) thought may have strayed ahead to the sword (l. 1023), which was the most precious of the four gifts.
63. 1073 *hild plegan* was substituted for *lindplegan*, being the more usual synonym.

NOTE.—This is the most elastic class, permitting the greatest latitude of emendation. For that very reason double care is necessary, and I am inclined to reject a number of corrections that would come under this head, e.g., 758 *gemunde þā se gōda, mæg Higelāces*. The substitution of *mōdga* for *gōda* (similar to the proceeding with Nos. 59, 60) is quite unnecessary; *gemunde* alliterates with *mæg* (Chambers: "The emendation is necessary for the sake of the alliteration"; Klaeber: "The exceptional alliteration . . . seems permissible"). Lines 1543-44 do not require any emendation whatsoever; *oferwearp* must be taken as intransitive (so Klaeber; in that sense, one of the numerous *hapax legomena* in *Beowulf*), and *wērig-mōd, strengest*, and *fēþecempa* are nominatives.

1537 *gefēng þā be eaxe*. Neither the alliteration nor the sense requires the change to *feaxe*.

780 *hetlic* (*ond bānfāg*—the length of *bān* is marked in the MS) should not be changed to *betlic*, in spite of 1925 (*bold wæs betlic*). There is no phonetic, psychological, or mechanical basis for such an error, and *hetlic* makes perfectly good sense. It refers to *manna ænig* and is identical with *hetelīc* 1267; the metrical stress accounts for the change of *hete-* to *het-*. The meaning is: They had not imagined that any man, however full of anger and strong of limbs, could destroy Heorot.—I am sorry if this interpretation does away with the pretty archaeological evidence for the antler-decorated hall.

1931 *mōd þrȳðo wæg*: Schücking's change to *mōd þrȳðe ne wæg*, while more or less necessitated by the present condition of the text, need not be in keeping with its older form. I believe that *þrȳðo* is the accusative singular of a common noun *þrȳðo*=*þrȳð* and that the sentence really meant: 'her mind bore (possessed) strength.' Lines 1932-62 are the interpolation of a later poet or scribe who misunderstood *þrȳðo* as a proper name and wished to display his historical knowledge concerning a queen of that name. It is a curious circumstance that the hand of the second scribe begins within this

episode (l. 1940), but it may at least be considered probable that the interpolation, in some form, was older than the work of our scribe.

G. MECHANICAL ERRORS are strangely rare in the first part of the MS, while instances of *Verschreiben* are very common in the second part. As far as I can see, only the following mechanical errors occur:

64. 1261 *camp* for *Cāin*. I cannot account for this mistake in any way. There is a remote possibility that *n* sounded somewhat like *mp* (*mb*) before the following *weard*, but that is very far-fetched.
65. 1602 *secan* for *setan*, and
66. 1830 *wac* for *wat* point to the misreading of *c* for *t* by a copyist, on account of their similarity in Old English script; but it is also possible that the scribe, a West-Saxon, did not recognize the Anglian form *sētan* (*sēton*), and it may have suggested *sēcan* to him, which at first glance seems to fit the meaning of the line. The *t* in *wāt*, followed by *Gēata*, may easily have sounded similar to a *c*.
67. 1520 *hord* for *hond* seems to be a misreading of *r* for *n*, but a mistake in hearing is by no means impossible.

THE SECOND SCRIBE

The part of the second hand presents a striking contrast to the first part of the MS. By far the greater part of the errors are of a mechanical character; they are mistakes that may easily be committed by a person laboriously copying from a MS, but hardly by one taking dictation.

There are very few *Phonetic Mistakes*. Granting a very liberal benefit of doubt, the following might be claimed for this category:

The treatment of nasals permits some latitude, so that either origin may be urged, e.g.,

68. 2136 *grimme* for *grimne*
69. 2799 *minne* for *mīne*
70. 2279 *hrusam* for *hrūsan*

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71. 2978 *brād[n]e*

72. 2769 *lēoma(n)*

73. 2996 *syðða[n]*

While *rāswa[n]* (No. 6) may have been due to a phonetic, and *naca(n)* (No. 9) to a syntactic reason, the last two errors (Nos. 72, 73) seem best to be explained by the assumption of a nasal stroke in the MS from which the second scribe copied. This is made more probable by the fact that he sometimes uses the nasal sign carelessly:

74. 2347 *hī þā = him þā(m)*; the second nasal stroke was added mechanically under the influence of the preceding word.

75. 2377 *hī = hine*

76. 2645, 2741 *forðā = forðan* (stroke for *-n*, instead of *-m*)

77. 2079 *mærū magū þegne* for *maguþegne*.

Various phonetic reasons may be cited in explanation of:

78. 2660 *byrdu scrud*, if for *beaduscrūd*

79. 2629 *þa* (for *þæt*) *se wyrm onfand*

80. 2929, 2972 *hond slyht* for *ondslyht*

81. 2094 (but also 1541) *hond lean* for *ondlēan*

82. 2759 *wundur on wealle ond þæs wyrmes denn*, if *ond* stands for *geond* (?).

But this number is relatively small; phonetic explanations are possible, but every one of these errors may be of a mechanical nature; finally, even if they be of a phonetic character, they may have been copied as such from an earlier, dictated MS. Therefore they prove nothing.

Association with neighboring sounds or words may be cited in explanation of:

83. 2596 *heand gesteallan* for *handgesteallan*

84. 2775 *hlodon* for *hlodon, hlanan*

85. 2829 *heaðo scearde* for *scearpe* (?), under the influence of the preceding *hearde*

86. 2821 *gumū* for *guman*, in accordance with the following *unfrōdū*.

As has been said above, errors of association may be optical as well as acoustic, so that this group might be reconciled with dictation as well as with copying.

But practically all other more or less obvious errors of the second part are decidedly *mechanical*. Some are due to the similarity of letters:

87. 2035 *bi werede* probably for *biwenede* (r:n)

88. 2755 *urder* for *under* (r:n)

89. 2305 *fela ða* for *se lāða* (s:f)

90. 3060 *wræce* for *wræte* (c:t)

91. 2882 *fergendra* for *wergendra* (f:w)

92. 2814 *for speof* for *forswēop* (p:w, f:p)

93. 2854 *speop* for *spēow* (p:w)

94. 2819 *hwæðre* for *hræðre* (w:r)

95. 3073 *strade*, probably for *strude* (u:a)

Many other mistakes are due to "carelessness," pure and simple, that is, it is difficult or impossible to assign any phonetic, associative, or graphic reason to them. Thus endings are sometimes unaccountably omitted:

96. 3139 *helm[um]*

97. 3124 *hilde-rinc[a]*

98. 2673 *rond[e]*

99. 2250 *fyrena* for *fȳra*

100. 2612 *Ohtere[s]*

101. 2961 *sweordū* for *sweorda* (may possibly have been caused by the preceding *ecgum*).

Proper names are frequently distorted by the copyist who fails to recognize them:

102. 1960 *geomor* for *Ēomēr*

103. 2202 *hearede* for *Headrēde*

104. 2186 *drihten wereda* probably for *Wedera*

105. 1983 *Hæ.num*, with an erasure, probably of *ð* (*Hæðnum*; or *hæleðum*[?])

106. 2946 *swona* for *Swēona*.

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The following are altogether accidental mistakes, merely symptoms of mechanical copying:

2863 *sec*[g]; 2893 *ec*[g]*clif*; 2628 and 2698 *mæg(en)es*; 2523 *reðes ond hattres* (?); 2478 *ge gefremedon*; 2385 *orfeorme* (?); 2341 *þend* (?); 2262 *nis* for *næs*; 2911 *under*[ne]; 2564 *ung.law* (?); 2687 *wundū* for *wundrum*; 2534 *wat* for *þæt*; and 3145 *let* for *lēg*.

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Assuming that this analysis indicates that scribe A wrote from dictation, while scribe B copied, it would seem that a scrutiny of the other parts of the *Beowulf* codex, written by the same scribes, should either corroborate or disprove the hypothesis. But neither is the case. The first part of the MS stands out from all five parts of the collection in its abundance of phonetic errors, while a normal number of mechanical errors occurs both in the three prose pieces from the hand of scribe A and in the Judith MS, which is written by scribe B.¹ But in the nature of things it is less likely for prose to be dictated than for poetry, which may have been committed to heart. The facts demand the conclusion that all of the codex, with the exception of *Beowulf* 1-1939, was copied. As to the dictated part, it is possible and even likely that the scribe added occasional compositions of his own; a number of interpolations, particularly that of Queen *prȳð*, may have been due to such arbitrary amplification, but a detailed analysis in this direction would hardly bear any fruit, nor would it be more than fanciful speculation to seek for the causes that led to the difference in technique in the two parts of the MS.

¹ E.g., *Three Old English Prose Texts* (Rypins' ed.), fol. 118*a*, l. 115, repetition of three words, due to recurrence of *ē ic*; fol. 114*b*, l. 2, the omission indicated by Rypins may be due to the preceding *we*; fol. 128*b*, l. 9, the preceding line seems to have caused a repetition of the word *epel*. *Jud.* (Cook's ed.), 47*b*, insertion of a redundant abbreviated *and*; 87*a*, repetition of *ys* from the preceding line, 134*a*, unnecessary insertion of a second *hie*; 251*b*, *hylde* for *hilde*, on account of *hyra* at the beginning of the line.

NOTES ON *BEOWULF*

◦

SAMUEL MOORE, *University of Michigan*

I

Gyf þonne Frȳsna hwylc frēcnan spræce
ðæs morþor-hetes myndgiend wære,
þonne hit sweordes ecg syððan scolde [1104 ff.].

This passage has been variously treated in the more recent editions of *Beowulf*. Wyatt, Holder, and Schücking (8th ed.) retained the MS reading and gave for *syððan* the meaning 'avenge, *strafen, rächen*.' Holthausen (1st, 2d), following Sievers, assumed the loss of a line after 1106. Trautmann, Holthausen (3d, 4th, 5th), Sedgefield, and Klaeber print various emendations. Chambers prints *syððan* in his text and refers in his Glossary to the note on the passage reading: "Unless we are to understand some word like 'decide'—a rather violent proceeding—something must, as Sievers supposes, be missing here; or perhaps the necessary infinitive to *scolde* is concealed in the word *syððan*."¹ Schücking proposed in *Englische Studien*, XLII, 109 ff., and has adopted in his subsequent editions (9th, 10th, 11th, 12th) an interpretation that assumes the ellipsis after *scolde* of *myndgiend bēon*, translating the passage in his Glossary (*s.v. siððan*): 'Dann sollte des schwertes schneide darauf, sc. *myndgiend bēon*, d.h. in errinerung bringen, es sollte mit dem schwerte bestraft werden' (11th, 12th). This interpretation of the MS reading is more satisfactory than those that assume a

¹ Pierquin reads *syththan scolde* and his Glossary (p. 840) gives the verb the meaning 'avenge, venger.' But his translation is 'alors le tranchant du glaive *en tirerait vengeance*,' which corresponds to Kemble's translation, 'that then the edge of the sword should *avenge it*.' The italics in each case are the translator's.

lacuna or the existence of an otherwise unrecorded verb meaning 'avenge, punish,' for the ellipsis after *sculan* and other auxiliary verbs of a verb used elsewhere in the sentence is frequent in Old English. I believe, however, that the interpretation so cautiously suggested by Chambers is not such a violent proceeding as it might seem. Ellipsis of a verb *not* used elsewhere in the sentence is exceedingly common after certain auxiliary verbs. The verb to be supplied is most frequently a verb of motion; often it is *bēon*, *wesan* (or *weorðan*). There are many cases, however, of the ellipsis of other verbs, for example:¹

And þeh þe Romane gefliemed wæren, hie wæron þeh gebielde mid þæm
þæt hie wiston hu hie to ðæm elpendon sceoldon [*Orosius* (ed. Sweet), p. 156].

He axode þone casere hu he embe hi sceolde.

Ða het se arleasa hi ealle fif pinian [*Lives of Saints* (ed. Skeat),

I, 140, ll. 370 f.].

On ðæm dagum Cartaginenses sendon fultum Tarentinum, þæt hie þe ið
mehton wiþ Romanum [*Orosius*, p. 162].

Sona swa þara Læcedemonia ladteow wiste þæt he wið þa twegen heras
sceolde, him þa rædlecre gepuhte þæt he wið oþerne frið gename þæt he þone
oðerne þe ieð ofercuman mehte [*ibid.*, p. 96].

Philippuse gepuhte þa þæt he leng mid folc[g]efehtum wið hie ne mehte,
ac oftrædllice he wæs mid hloþum on hi hergende [*ibid.*, p. 118].

. . . . Hie him lytle hwile gehiersume wæron. Ac gecuron him anne scop
to cyninge of Atheniensem, and eft mid firde foran wiþ þa Messene. Ða hi
him nealæhtan, þa getweode hie hwæðer hie wið him mæhten [*ibid.*, p. 56].²

Ic ful gearwe gemon

hwa min fromcynn fruman agette

eall of earde; ic him yfle ne mot [*Riddles* (ed. Tupper), p. 83, ll. 6 ff.].

Ða woroldlecan læcas scomað ðæt hi ongl[i]nnen ða wunda lacnian ðe hi
gesion ne magon, and huru gif hi nouðer gecnawan ne cunnan ne ða med-
trymnesse ne eac ða wyrta ðe ðærwið sculon [*Pastoral Care* (ed. Sweet), p.
25, ll. 19 ff.].

¹ In citing the passages that follow I have not reproduced editors' accents, marks of quantity, or italics used to indicate expansion of MS contractions, and I have expanded the contraction for *and* wherever it occurs. All the examples given are in Bosworth and Toller.

² The frequency of this usage in the *Orosius* is not due to any influence of the Latin original.

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Ac he [i.e., Herod] cydde syððan his facenfullan syrewunge, hu he ymbe wolde, gif he hine gemette, ðaða he ealle his efenealdan adylegode for his anes ehtnysse [*Homilies* (ed. Thorpe), I, 82].

None of these passages is a perfect parallel to the *Beowulf* passage, for in all of them the auxiliary is used with a prepositional phrase (or an equivalent). Nevertheless, they seem to me to justify some such interpretation as: 'Then the sword's edge should attend to (deal with) it later.'

II

Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðēoden Heaðobeardna
 ond þegna gehwām þāra lēoda;
 þonne hē mid fāmnan on flett gæð,
 dryht-bearn Dena, duguða biwenede,
 on him gladiað gomelra lāfe,
 heard ond hring-mæl, Heaðabearna gestrēon,
 þenden hīe ðām wæpnum wealdan mōston,
 oð ðæt hīe forlæddan tō ðām lind-plegan
 swāse gesiðas ond hyra sylfra feorh [2032 ff.].

The punctuation given above departs from the traditional punctuation of *Beowulf* in using a stop instead of a comma after *lēoda* in 2033 and a comma instead of a stop (period, semicolon, or colon) after *biwenede* in 2035. Kemble's second edition (the first edition to use modern punctuation in the text of *Beowulf*) had a comma at the end of both 2033 and 2035, and the comma at the end of 2033 has appeared in all editions since. Thorpe and Schaldemose followed Kemble in using a comma at the end of 2035, but Grein's edition of 1857 replaced the comma with a stop, and the stop has appeared in all subsequent editions except Grundtvig's, Arnold's, Ettmüller's, Trautmann's, and Pierquin's.¹ The editors' unanimity as to punctuation is in rather striking contrast to their differences as to the interpretation of the passage. Does *hē* of 2034 refer to *ðēoden Heað-*

¹ Grundtvig, Ettmüller, Arnold, and Pierquin follow Kemble's punctuation; Trautmann emends to *duguðum biweotede*, followed by a comma. I have used in the preparation of this paper Schaldemose's edition of 1847 and Thorpe's of 1855.

NOTES ON *BEOWULF*

obeardna of 2032 or to *dryht-bearn Dena* of 2035? This question is fundamental to the interpretation of the whole episode and ought therefore, I believe, to be decided on its own merits and not subordinated to the interpretation of *duguða biwenede*. The easiest interpretation of *duguða biwenede*, perhaps, is to take *dryhtbearn* as plural, but to do so at the expense of making the whole episode incoherent is bad exegesis when other interpretations of the phrase are available. Disregarding, then, *duguða biwenede*, it seems clear that *hē* must refer to the *dryht-bearn Dena*. Not only do *se fāmnan þegn* of 2059 and 2053 f.,

Nū hēr þāra banena byre nāt-hwylces
frætwum hrēmig on flet gæð,

imply a definite individual who has been mentioned before,¹ but the singular *bēah* of 2041 is clearly the *mēce* of 2047 and requires that we construe *dryht-bearn* as singular, not plural. If the *dryht-bearn Dena* referred to by the proleptic *hē* is *se fāmnan þegn* of 2059, the punctuation I have used is preferable to the traditional one.

III

Dā wæs dæg sceacen
wyrme on willan; nō on wealle læg,
bīdan wolde, ac mid bæle fōr,
fȳre gefȳsed [2306 ff.].

The MS reading printed above has not appeared in any edition of the text since Thorkelin's (1815). Kemble's first edition read

nó on wealle læg
(nó bí) dan wolde.

His second edition (1835) read

nó on wealle læg
[ne bí]dan wolde,

with Thorpe's emendation, *leng*, in the footnote. The Appendix to his translation (1837) has the note: "Read *nó on wealle leng*

¹ Cf. Klaeber, *Modern Philology*, III, 255.

/ *bīdan wólde*. As it stands in the MS the passage is unintelligible," and the translation itself (p. 93) reads: 'No longer would he abide upon *his* mound.' Thorpe's emendation (made independently, according to Chambers, by Grundtvig in his translation of 1820) has appeared (either as *leng* or *læng*) in all subsequent editions except Schaldemose's and Pierquin's.¹ Yet emendation is wholly unnecessary, for the MS reading, punctuated as at the beginning of this note, is perfectly intelligible and makes good sense. The grammatical construction is exactly paralleled by that of

Nalles æfter lyfte lācende hwearf
middel-nihtum, mād̥m-æhta wlonc,
ansȳn ȳwde, ac hē eorðan gefēoll
for ðæs hild-fruman hond-geweorce [2832 ff.].

IV

Ðonne stræla storm strengum bebæded
scōc ofer scild-weall, sceft nytte hēold,
feðer-gearwum fūs flāne full-ēode [3117 ff.].

The meaning of *flāne* in this passage is evidently 'barb, arrowhead,' but neither Bosworth and Toller's *Dictionary* nor the *Supplement* contains any example of the word used in this sense. There is a clear case of it in the *Life of St. Christopher*:

Ða se cyningc wæs utgāngende to þam halga[n] cristoforus and him to cwæð, "hwær is þin god? f[or] hwon ne com he and þe gefreolsode of minum handum and of þyssum egeslican strælum?" Hraðe þa myt ty þe he þas word gecwæð, twa flana of þam strælum scuton on þas cyninges eagan and he þurh þæt wæs ablend.²

¹ Schaldemose follows Kemble's second edition; Pierquin has the reading of Kemble's second edition but translates: 'Il ne voulait demeurer plus longtemps sur son éminence.'

² *Three Old English Prose Texts* (ed. Rypins; E.E.T.S.), p. 72, ll. 3 ff. I have expanded the contractions for *and* and *þæt* and have substituted double brackets for the single brackets Rypins uses to mark letters lost at the end of the line. I have also supplied punctuation.

NOCH EINMAL: "ENGE ĀNPAÐAS, UNCŪÐ GELĀÐ"

◊

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Angesichts des grossen Trümmerfeldes, das die Methoden zur Feststellung der Chronologie der angelsächsischen Gedichte heute darstellen, wird man jede Möglichkeit, die Abhängigkeit eines Werkes von einem andern mit Sicherheit zu erweisen, besonders wichtig nehmen und prüfen müssen. Eine solche Abhängigkeit hatte ich im Gegensatz zur vorausgehenden Forschung nachweisen zu können geglaubt im Verhältnis des *Beowulf* zur *Exodus*. War nämlich die frühere Forschung von dem Gedanken beherrscht gewesen, der Vers "enge ānpaþas, uncūþ gelād," habe den Sinn "enge Einzelpfade, unbekannte Wege," und passe im *Beowulf* in den Zusammenhang, während er in der *Exodus* offenbar gar keinen rechten Sinn gebe und dort also nachgeahmt sei, so hatte ich den Nachweis versucht, dass die Stelle in der *Exodus* ganz anders zu deuten sei, dass nämlich "ānpaþas" eine wörtliche Nachbildung des von der *Vulgata* an derselben Stelle gebrauchten Ausdrucks '*per viam deserti*' darstelle, also von einer unpassenden Verwendung des Verses nicht wohl die Rede sein könne.¹ Dieser Auffassung hatte Fr. Klaeber in den *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIII, 218–224, ausdrücklich zugestimmt, indem er die andern Übereinstimmungen zwischen *Exodus* und *Beowulf* nachprüfte und feststellte, dass keine von ihnen Priorität des *Beowulf* verlange, sondern sich die Wahrscheinlichkeit auch bei ihnen eher auf die Seite der Priorität der *Exodus* neige. Neuerdings nun aber (*Anglia*, L, 202 f.) hat

¹ *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutungslehre der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* (Heidelberg, 1915).

Klaeber diesen Standpunkt wieder verlassen und ist zu dem früheren zurückgekehrt. Es geschieht dies mit Rücksicht auf die Ausführungen in Rudolf Imelmann's *Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), Seiten 382 ff. Imelmann nämlich glaubt die Vorlage zu der in Frage kommenden Beowulfstelle in einem Vergilpassus, der von einem Hohlweg handelt, gefunden zu haben. Er lautet:

522. est curvo anfractu valles adcommoda fraudi
armorumque dolis *tenuis quo semita ducit*
angustaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni . . .

vgl. *Beow.* 1409–1411:

stēap stān-hliðo, stīze nearwe,
enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād
nēowle næssas, nicor-hūsa fela.

Dazu sagt Klaeber:

This necessarily puts a new face on the views to be entertained on the relation between *Beowulf* and *Exodus*. . . . Now that the strongest single verbal agreement can no longer be held to point to imitation of *Exodus* by the author of *Beowulf*, a return to the older generally accepted view is unavoidable. The poet of *Exodus* must have known our *Beowulf*.

Aber ist das wirklich eine notwendige Schlussfolgerung? Ich möchte demgegenüber folgende Tatsachen feststellen:

1. Der Exodusvers *stellt eine genaue Wiedergabe des Berichtes der Vulgata dar*, die erzählt: *circumduxit per viam deserti*, *Exod.*, XIII, 18 und unmittelbar darauf XIII, 20: *in extremis finibus solitudinis*. . . .¹ Der Ausdruck ist bis aufs Wort getreu. (Die Auffassung von "ānpaðas" als "Einsamkeitswege" findet sich übrigens schon—worauf mich Fr. Kluge nach dem Erscheinen meiner *Angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* aufmerksam machte—in Kluges *Ags. Lesebuch* [2. A., Halle, 1897], S. 157, in der Form "einsamer Weg?")

¹ S. Moore's sonst so lehrreicher Aufsatz *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 86, misverstet das allerdings ungewöhnliche "oferfōr he" im Sinne von 'umgehen' und deutet es als ein "journeying through a hostile country." Aber dadurch würde die Bibelstelle in ihr Gegenteil verkehrt und es käme ein unhaltbarer Widerspruch zu "enge ānpaðas" heraus.

2. Der Sinn, den Imelmann dem Verse beilegt: “enge Hohlwege, feindseliges Gewege [*sic*]” *passt durchaus nicht* in den Zusammenhang der *Exodus*. Überdies ist die Übersetzung “Gewege” nicht ohne Bedenken. *Gelād* bedeutet an den vier andern Stellen, an denen es in der *Angelsächsischen Dichtersprache* erscheint, einmal “Bereich” (scil. des Meeres.) *Andr.* 190; dasselbe *Guðl.* 1266 (Grein übersetzt “tiefe Fluten”), dann “Boden” (des roten Meeres) *Exod.* 313; schliesslich “(Sumpf)-bezirk” (fengelad) *Beow.* 1359. Von Wegen ist nie die Rede.

3. Die *Exodus* kennt die Zusammensetzung mit *-pæð* als 2. Bestandteil (*mīl-pæð*), *Beowulf* dagegen nicht.

4. Die *Exodus* gebraucht den Halbvers: “uncūð gelād” noch ein zweites Mal, der *Beowulf* nicht.

5. Diese letzten Erscheinungen (3 und 4) könnten auf Zufall beruhen, aber kein Zweifel kann darüber sein, dass die *Exodus* unvergleichlich viel origineller in ihrem Stil ist als der *Beowulf* und ihren Ehrgeiz offenkundig in der Neuprägung ihrer Sprache sucht, während der *Beowulf* viele Übereinstimmungen mit anderen Gedichten aufweist, von denen ein grosser Teil auch noch Klaeber (vgl. *Beowulf*, Ausgabe, S. cxiv, und *Anglia*, L, 203, Anm.) auf *Übernahme durch den Beowulfdichter* zurückführt.

6. Wenn nun aber trotzdem die Ähnlichkeit der von Imelmann aufgefundenen Vergilstelle so gross wäre, dass sie—was ich allerdings nicht zugeben kann—einen Zufall ausschliesse, so wäre doch immer noch die nächstliegende Erklärung die folgende: Dem Beowulfdichter schwebte eine Vergilstelle vor, die er—wahrscheinlich unbewusst—nachbildete. Muss er aber nun für diese Nachbildung unbedingt sprachliche Neuprägungen verwendet haben? Durchaus nicht. Seiner Art entsprechend benutzte er vielmehr den ihm geläufigen Formelschatz. So gebrauchte er das ihm aus der *Genesis* 1549 geläufige “stēap hleoðo” in der Form “stēap stānhliðo” in Vers 1409, er nahm für dieselbe Zeile “stige nearwe,” Worte die genau so in den

Rätseln 16, 24 und "nēowle næssas," die *Judith* 113 erscheinen, also wohl beides geläufige Halbverse. Warum in aller Welt aber soll er denn gerade 'enge ānpaðas uncūð gelād' neugeprägt haben? Er nahm vielmehr hier wie in den andern Fällen *schon fertiges* (d. h. vom Exodusverfasser herrührendes) *Dichtergut*. Diese Auffassung kann auch nicht dadurch erschüttert werden, dass er den Worten einen etwas abweichenden Sinn beilegte. Diese Möglichkeit hatte ich schon in der *Dichtersprache* offen gelassen und Klaeber hatte mir mit den Worten zugestimmt: "That the author of *Beowulf* did not attach quite the same meaning to 'enge ānpaðas' must be admitted to be quite probable." In der Tat ist jedem, der sich ins Angelsächsische eingelesen, die Erscheinung verschiedener Bedeutung derselben Ausdrücke so vertraut, dass sich die Anführung von Beispielen erübrigt. Die präziöse Sprache der *Exodus* aber legt eine Umdeutung besonders nahe. Unter solchen Umständen glaube ich an meiner These festhalten und auch eine so wertvolle Bundesgenossenschaft wie die Klaebersche für sie zurückgewinnen zu können.

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*



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The accompanying versions of several passages from *Beowulf* were made at different times during the last few years. The question of what form a modern English translation should take has been variously answered, though perhaps a final answer has not yet been given. The present writer holds strongly that a modern version of a work so essentially poetical in form and diction ought certainly to be in verse, and, further, that the meter should be one of those, and they are numerous and varied enough, familiar in modern English poetry. Attempts to reproduce the rhythm of the old meter and to preserve its regular alliteration have produced a form that cannot give pleasure to modern readers. Alliteration has, indeed, always been congenial to English poetry, but it must be used somewhat sparingly, and should seem to occur naturally. It cannot properly be insisted upon as an essential of the verse.

Translators of *Beowulf* who are in the Morris tradition have tried to convey the form of the original by a rigid adherence to the principle of alliteration, and to that distribution of stress in the line that is so intimately connected with it. Few modern readers can recognize the result as rhythm at all. A worse feature in the translations of the Morris school is the diction. This point is so obvious that it need not be labored. The insistence on a literal rendering of the old compounds, and of the epithets, and, above all, on the retention of old poetical words in modernized form, has produced an effect at once strange and ludicrous, a version from which the poetry of the original has vanished,

and whose meaning is often quite unintelligible to a reader not possessing a good knowledge of Old English poetry. The faults of diction referred to are the use of completely obsolete words—some of which indeed hardly survived the Anglo-Saxon period, even in poetry—and the use of words in their old sense that have now acquired quite other associations. Such a line as “The foamy-necked floater most like to a fowl,” such a phrase as “booting of bales,” such words as “hote,” “sea’s nose,” “howe,” “brook” (in the old sense of ‘to use’ or ‘to enjoy’), “fretworks,” for OE *frætwa*, all from Morris’ translation, are but a few absurdities from among many hundreds that might easily be culled from this or from the translations of his imitators. Such extravagances seem irresistible to all of them.

Among translators of *Beowulf* who have chosen a poetical form, my friend Sir Archibald Strong has, I think, been among the most, if not actually the most, successful. He has shown a delicate poetic feeling, and has steered clear, on the whole, of those verbal eccentricities that are the besetting sin of translators of this poem. But even he has not been able to prevent certain quaintnesses of diction from appearing here and there. Sir Archibald has chosen a terribly difficult meter, the long rhyming lines that Morris uses in *Sigurd the Volsung*. The task of the translator of *Beowulf* is hard enough at the best, and it seems unwise to make it harder by adopting a meter that is not easy to manage.

May we not say that a poetical translation of *Beowulf* must at least aim at being an English poem? To attain this the writer must avoid anything that is queer or quaint in diction. English has always possessed a noble poetic diction, and all that is best in that diction is found in the great modern English poets. The riches of our poetic language are inexhaustible. Words become suggestive of poetical ideas, partly because they denote things in themselves beautiful and romantic, partly also because generations of poets have intertwined with them asso-

ciations that are august and sublime. Words thus alive with emotion are eminently suitable for poetical expression, and each succeeding poet who uses them enriches them with fresh associations, and makes them more precious. It has taken centuries of poetry to give this value to our poetic diction in the real sense of the term. A certain number of these words indeed come down to us from Anglo-Saxon times, with the experience of ages in them, and yet bearing, as it were, the freshness of the morning upon them, untarnished and undimmed. By all means let us use such words in our translations of Old English poetry. But there are many more, which, though among the jewels in the treasure-house of the Anglo-Saxon poet—his “word-hoard” as the followers of Morris would call it—have either perished altogether, or have lost their luster. For our remote ancestors these words contained associations of mystery and of beauty, associations which we can to some extent recapture with something of the old thrill when we come across them in Anglo-Saxon poetry, provided we have steeped ourselves sufficiently in its spirit; but in a modernized form, in what purports to be a modern English poem, they appear strange and uncouth. They set up no responsive vibrations in our minds; they have no relation to anything in our experience, no associations of mysterious beauty half revealed; they are lifeless. Let us banish such monstrosities from our modern versions, and seek for other terms to call up the emotions that those can no longer evoke.

What is the most suitable and effective modern English meter for a translation of *Beowulf*? This question has still to be decisively answered by some notable achievement in translation. The eighteenth century would have answered the heroic couplet; the nineteenth would have preferred either blank verse, probably in the manner of Tennyson, or perhaps one of the various meters used by Morris—though assuredly not that meter which Morris himself chose for this very poem—or possibly hexameters.

The present writer has come to no certain conclusion as to which meter would be ideally the best. Is it possible that a variety of meters might be tried? Might not the meter change to suit the spirit of a passage or the general character of an episode? There is one meter that so far as I know has not hitherto been tried, and that is the short *rumtitumty-rumtitumty* line of *Hiawatha*. This is generally regarded with a contempt that is in excess of its demerits. This line is capable of a certain simple dignity that makes me inclined to put in a plea for its trial. For one thing, as Longfellow has used it, this meter allows the repetition of the same idea in different words, so typical of Old English poetry, without the sense of strangeness that literal rendering of this feature usually produces in modern English. I have included two passages in this meter among my experiments, and to me, at least, these are not the most unpleasing.

In submitting the following specimens of translation I make no claim to have reached a solution of the task of rendering *Beowulf* into modern English, nor have I by any means realized my own ideals. I can only say that the attempt to express the emotions and convey the images of the Old English poem in several different styles, and from the standpoint of different poets, so far as I was able to reach this, gave me great pleasure in the making, and the results may prove of some interest to others. I shall not affect to think that some of the passages chosen have not been worse translated elsewhere than they are here in this or that version. But if I have avoided the graver faults referred to in the foregoing remarks, I may have fallen into others that may be reprehended on different grounds. In the versions in couplets I have definitely imitated—alas, at what a distance!—the style and diction of Pope, and have deliberately introduced some of his mannerisms, and a few rhymes that belong to his time. In these versions (in couplets) I have allowed myself some freedom of rendering and have avoided a word-for-word translation. Version D of the passing of Scyld is a free

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

treatment of the theme in what may be regarded as a parody of the *Morte d'Arthur*. I must confess to what one of Farquhar's characters calls a "woundy kindness" for the couplet, though I am far from suggesting it as a suitable medium through which to bring *Beowulf* as a whole before the modern reader. I believe, however, that for certain passages, at least, it is admirably adapted.

I

THE PASSING OF SCYLD

(*Beowulf*, ll. 26-52)

A

So at his destined hour he went his way,
The mighty Scyld, passed to the hand of God.
They bore him down—the people whom he loved,
To the seashore—thus he himself had bid
While yet his word had power to work his will;
Dear lord of all the land—long time he ruled!
There, ready to sail out, a vessel rode,
Close by the beach, whose swelling, ample sides
Glittered with frost; fit galleon for a prince!
So in the vessel's hold they laid him down,
Their far-famed king, dear chief, and gracious lord,
Hard by the mast; and round about him piled
Great store of treasure fetched from distant shores.
No lovelier ship, none richlier decked with spoils
Of battle, corslets, swords and helms,
Was e'er by poets feigned, or seen of men.
For many a costly jewel, lavish flung,
Sparkled upon the monarch's lifeless breast,
To sail with him far out across the foam,
And pass into the ocean's wide embrace.
No less his people dowered him when he passed,
With arms and treasure, than did those who first
Had sent him forth alone across the sea
A helpless infant. At the last was set
A golden banner proudly o'er his head.
Then weeping much they gave him to the deep,
And let the high sea bear him far away.

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But who shall say, what warrior under heaven,
Or which of those most skilled in counsels high
Shall tell whose hands received that precious freight?

B

When Fate decrees life's fleeting glories end,
And royal Scyld must to the shades descend;
From its frail tenement his spirit fled,
And sought the silent mansions of the dead.
His dear companions to the ship attend
The frigid reliques of their lord and friend.
Thus he enjoyn'd while still he held the throne,
Wielded the sceptre, wore the kingly crown.
Oh! long adorned with every princely grace,
He swayed the realm, controll'd its warrior race; 10
While flowing treasure and wide lands confess'd
A lavish monarch and a people blest.
And now in long procession winding slow,
Princes and Peers in solemn pomp they go;
From the high palace, through the quiet town,
By many a dewy lawn and grassy down.
And few the gushing, briny drops restrain,
That start, and cease a while, and spring again.
Yet onward moves the band with tread sedate,
In gloomy splendor, and in direful state, 20
O'er flowery mead, by gently waving wood,
Until they reach the margin of the flood.
Hard by the shore a regal vessel rides,
With arching prow, and lofty, swelling sides.
A myriad points of ice their frosty rays
Flash from the masts, and in the rigging blaze;
While like a steed that scents the fray afar,
And chafes and frets to rush into the war,
The heaving ship, impatient forth to roam,
Strains at the rope and strives to take the foam. 30
No lovelier vessel ever monarch bore
From his lov'd home, and dear paternal shore,
Nor one so filled with treasures manifold,
Refulgent gems, and heaps of burnish'd gold.

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

There by the mast they laid the glorious king,
And many a costly gift around him fling;
Rich coats of mail, and gold-encrusted swords,
All, all that sorrow, all that love affords.
A thousand jewels glittered by his side
Destined with him to cross the rolling tide;
High o'er his head, above the flutt'ring sail,
A golden banner fluctuates on the gale.
Far other was his state when first he came,
A friendless child, alone, without a name!
His course directed by a dubious hand,
A nameless outcast from a nameless land!
With ling'ring gaze that reverend face they view,
And gusts of anguish shake each breast anew;
Round their dear lord the weeping warriors shed
Those tears eternal that embalm the dead,
Then turn reluctant, leave the prince alone,
To pass in silence on to realms unknown;
They loos'd the cable, gave him to the deep,
Let the winds take him, and the surges keep.
The barque heads swiftly for the open sea,
And on the dim horizon fades away.

40

50

C

So the mighty Scyld departed,
At his fated hour departed,
Passed into his maker's keeping.
Then his dear companions bore him
To the margin of the ocean,
Just as he himself had bade them,
Well-loved prince of all the nation,
While his words had power among them,
Friend of Scyldings! long he ruled them.
In the harbor stood a vessel
Curved of prow, prepared for sailing,
Bright with frost; a princely galleon!
There they laid their darling chieftain,
In the bosom of the vessel,
By the mast the famous warrior.

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High they heaped the lavish treasure,
Costly spoils from distant places.
Never heard I of a vessel
Fairer, richlier deck't with armor,
Piled with weapons for the battle,
Loaded high with bills and burnies.
On his breast lay many a jewel
Destined far with him to journey,
Pass into the sea-flood's keeping.
No less richly had they dowered him
Than had those who first had sent him
O'er the wave, a lonely infant.
Now they set a golden banner
O'er his head to flutter proudly,
And they let the high sea take him,
Sadly gave him to the ocean,
Weeping let the flood receive him.
But men can not soothly tell us,
Not the wisest in the mead-hall,
None of heroes under heaven,
Who were those received that burden.

D

[In imitation of Tennyson's manner]

So when his hour was come Scyld passed away,
A famous king, into his Maker's hand.
And all was done as he himself ordained
While still the royal circlet girt his brows,
And with his word he ruled that wide domain.
Yet throned more surely in a people's love,
With honor and fair fame—more glorious crown!
Then reverently they bore the lifeless king
Towards the far-off murmur of the sea,
With pomp of nodding plume, and funeral dirge,
And flash of helmet glinting through the dusk
Of shadowy pines. The sombre pageant passed,
Until the roar of billows filled their ears
And the sea's breath smote salt upon their lips—
And on a sudden—lo! the dancing waves,
And the wan sunshine of a winter's day!

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

Then might they see how at the marge a ship,
With high-arched dragon-prow and swelling vans,
Heaved with the uneasy motion of the sea,
And glimmered like a phantom through the mist.
For all her sides and spars were frosted o'er
With film of ice, and from the shrouds and masts
A myriad spears, and stars of ice, like gems,
Flashed back the splendors of the wintry sun,
And glowed like streamers of a northern night
With many-twinkling tongues of shimmering fire.
And all the hull was streaked with rare device
Of curious tracery, and fantastic shapes,
Wrought by the frost from mist and feathery spume.
And like a courser chafing at the bit
That flings afar the foam from whitening lips,
So strained the gallant bark, and seemed to toss
Its head, and shake the spray from off its neck,
And tugged impatient at the anchor rope,
With many a cabriole and curvet, and leapt
This way and that upon the restless tide.
So up the slender plank they bore the king,
And laid him by the mast and wrapped him round
With robe of royal purple like a king,
And looked their last upon the prince they loved.
There like a fallen pine tree lay their lord—
An armored knight, in helm and coat of mail,
With greaves and cuisses thick enwrought with gold.
Of gold the hilt of that renownèd sword
Wherewith in happier days he made them knights—
Wherewith 'tis said himself was made a knight;
And ever had he worn it as a knight,
And with it oft had carved a crimson path
Through ranks of foemen, mid the crash of shields,
And flash of spears, and groans of dying men.

I never saw, nor shall see till I die,
Aught like the mystic wonder of that ship—
Luminous, fair, a glory and a dream—
With all the high-piled treasure, swords, and helms

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And heaps of rarest jewels lavish flung—
Emerald and ruby, topaz, jacinth, pearl,
Unnumbered on the deck; the lightest stone
Had been a ransom for a king of old.
High o'er the mast there streamed in eddying clouds,
With dusky fold on fold, a banner wrought
Of purple silk, on which emblazoned shone
Strange runes in gold, and that far-famed device
The White Horse of the great Whitehorsemanship.¹
At last they loosed the cable, and the bark
Trembled a moment like a living thing,
Spreading its dewy pinions to the breeze,
Then took the wave and scudded for the main.
Now rose on land a dreadful cry, a shriek,
One sound, one wail of lamentation dire;
It mingled with the scream of startled birds
That rose in clouds, and clamored overhead.
Far out at sea, all round about the ship
It seemed strange voices wept aloud and moaned,
Mixed with the thunder of the bellowing deep,
As though dead warriors came to take their lord.
Thus onward passed the king to doubtful shores,
Some happy island set in placid seas,
With flowery vales, and spicy woodland crowned.
And soon the ship grew faint; a drifting mist
Engulfed it, and it seemed a wavering ghost
That flitted dim and shadowy o'er the foam,
Until the void received it, and the dark;
And fell a silence over land and sea.

II

GRENDDEL'S LAIR

(*Beowulf*, ll. 1345-76)

Some I have heard a dreadful tale unfold—
My peers who in my hall grave counsel hold—
How they have seen a huge and spectral twain
Steal o'er the moors and slink across the plain.

¹ Cf. Tennyson's "the Dragon of the great Pendragonship."

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

And one a woman's semblance seemed to wear,
That of a man the other of the pair;
Monstrous, misshapen, him they Grendel name,
A hunted outcast and a thing of shame.
Unknown his lineage, now alike forgot
What kindred bred him, or what sire begot;
Or if perchance, in other far-off days,
Himself the author of some grisly race.
Their lurking-place mid rugged gorges lies
Where tempests rage, and where the grey wolf cries;
A treach'rous marsh the sole approach provides,
And torrents gush from mountains' shadowy sides;
The flood falls hurtling down the headland's face,
And sinks in darkness to the earth's embrace.
Nor far from here, there lies a lake, 'tis said,
With frosty thickets arching overhead;
Dread visions nightly haunt that wat'ry space
And wav'ring flames flit o'er its gloomy face.
No man the measure of those depths can give,
Its horrid secret none may know and live.
The stag, the antlered rover of the heath,
Driven far by hounds, and lab'ring hard for breath,
Bursts through the wood, but as he nears the shore—
The pack behind him, and the pool before—
He checks an instant, sniffs the tainted tide
—Then falls, and all his life pours from his reeking side.

III

BEOWULF'S FIRST BANQUET WITH HROTHGAR

(*Beowulf*, ll. 611-638)

High rose the laughter of heroes, and revelry loudly resounded;
Winning the words that were uttered, urbane and kindly the
converse.
Gravely then paced down the hall the radiant consort of Hrothgar;
Stately, adorned with gold, she graciously greeted the warriors;
Queenly and debonair as became her illustrious kindred.
First of all she offered the cup to the country's ruler,

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Bade him, beloved of his people, be blithe at the merry carousal.
Jocund and gay the all-conquering king drank deep of the goblet.
Right through the host she passed, the Lady and Queen of the
Helmings,
Handed to all alike the beaker bejewelled and brimming;
Veterans tried in battle, and striplings, partook of her bounty.
So at the last she came to Beowulf there on the mead-bench.
Heartily then the glorious queen saluted the hero—
Spoke, well weighing her words, to the lord of the Gauts, and
pledged him;
Uttered her thanks to God that her ancient desire was accomplished
That she might hope at length for relief by the sword of a champion.
Standing there on the floor, at her hand he accepted the wine-cup,
Beowulf mighty in war and inflamed with zeal for the combat;
Ecgtheow's son made speech, said: "This one thing have I hoped for
Ever since I and my band of retainers took ship o'er the ocean
That I alone with my hands may fulfil the desire of your people
Or may die, held fast by the grip of the foe in the battle.
If I acquit me not as a valiant earl should acquit him,
Joyfully will I abide the end of my days in the mead-hall."

IV

THE DEATH OF BEOWULF

(*Beowulf*, ll. 2802-20)

A

"Oh, bid my warriors rear a funeral pile
With curious labor and with ready toil;
High on the frowning headland's gloomy crest,
Where dreadful clouds, and hov'ring vapors rest;
Near where the restless tide eternal flows,
Let my cold dust serene in death repose.
A lofty column shall the spot proclaim,
Protect my ashes, and preserve my name.
Oh! should some wand'ring sailor, tempest-tossed,
Approach these windy cliffs and stormy coast,
And dimly through the ocean mists discern
The towering beacon that secures my urn;
To such may this a double boon convey:

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

Guide him at once to port, and point the way
To the bright regions of celestial day."
Then from his neck he drew the torque of gold,
Doffed the bright helm, and loosed the corslet's fold,
Unclasped the bracelet, to the stripling gave
These dear memorial tokens of the brave.
"See that thou use them well, good lad," he said,
"Save thee, my kin all slumber with the dead;
Too early swept away by savage fate,
Earls in their pride, and princes in their state!
And now must I yield up my wav'ring breath,
And follow them along the path of death.
Thou then art left alone to bear our name,
Augment its glory, and extend its fame."
Such the last words from out his bosom wrung,
Ere death had stilled the old man's falt'ring tongue,
Before they brought his body to the pyre
And the fierce grasp of hot devouring fire.
His steadfast soul to ampler regions passed,
And gained the meed of faithful ones at last.

B

(*Beowulf*, ll. 2794-2820)

"Lord of all things, now I thank thee,
King of glories, lord eternal,
For the treasure that I gaze on;
Thank thee for that ere my death day
Thou hast granted me to purchase
With my aged life these treasures,
For the succor of my people,
For a solace in their sorrow.
Now I may not tarry longer.
Bid my famous warriors fashion,
(When the pyre has all consumed me),
Bid them raise a shining beacon
On the headland in the ocean,
Stately, towering to the heavens.
This shall keep my name in memory;
Beowulf's pillar on the headland,

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Thus the mariners shall call it,
When they drive their lofty vessels
From afar across the ocean,
Through the mists and through the shadows."
Then the valiant-hearted monarch
Drew from round his throat his necklet,
Put aside his golden necklet,
Gilded helm, and ring, and corslet,
Gave them to his young companion,
To the warrior armed with javelin.
"Thou art last of all our kindred
Latest left of all the Wagmunds;
Fate has swept away my kinsmen,
Gallant earls to the hereafter,
All before me.—I must follow."
Such the latest words he uttered,
Good old man, from out his bosom,
Ere he sought the blazing bale-fire,
Sought the hot devouring surges.
From his breast his soul departed,
Found the meed of all the Faithful.

C

"Glorious King and Prince of all things, now do I thank Thee,
And with grateful words, Eternal Lord, I address Thee,
For the treasure that ere my death Thou permittest a sight of,
Which, with my ancient life as the price, I have purchased and
gathered,
Here, in the day of their need, as a help and support for my people,
Now that my day is done, and I may no longer abide.
So, on the cliff by the sea, when the funeral pyre has engulfed me,
Bid them raise me a cairn, my trusty ones, famous in battle,
Which shall preserve my name, and my fame in the hearts of my
people;
Radiant, lofty, serene, springing up from the point of the headland.
Beowulf's mound the seamen in days hereafter shall call it,
Driving their lofty ships from afar through the mists of the ocean."
Then the magnanimous prince unclasped his golden neck-ring,
Put off his gilded helm, his jewelled bracelet and burnie,
Gave them all to the stripling and bade him worthily use them.

EXPERIMENTS IN TRANSLATING *BEOWULF*

"Thou," said he, "art the latest left of our house of the Wigmunds;
All have been swept away, brave hearts! to the doom appointed;
Gone before me, my loving kinsmen, and I must follow."

Such were the latest words that he spake from the thoughts of his
bosom,

Good old man, or ever his body was brought to the burning,
Lapped in the surging flame. His steadfast spirit departed
Hence, to receive at the last the due reward of the righteous.

CAEDMON'S DREAM SONG



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The "Caedmon legend," meaning by this Bede's story of the gift of the craft of song, brought to the poet in his middle age by a nocturnal visitant in a dream,¹ has had recurrent interest for scholars. Bede says that the command of the dream figure and Caedmon's ability to obey it and to compose verse were interpreted as a direct inspiration from Heaven by those who assembled at the monastery of the Abbess Hild to hear the story. Florence of Worcester (d. 1118), writing under the year 680, speaks of Cedmon (his spelling) as the celebrated monk who "received from Heaven the free gift of poetic inspiration."² Many scholars, reading of the Old English poet in the passages by Bede and by Florence of Worcester, speak of the Caedmon story as though it had a tinge of the miraculous or supernatural, or as though it might be apocryphal. Here are a few illustrations.

W. D. Conybeare (1826) speaks of Bede's account of "this extraordinary man" as "tinged with the credulity of his age."³ Bernhard Ten Brink (1887) speaks of the "Caedmon legend."⁴ Richard Wülker (1885) speaks of a "legendary embellishment" (*legendenhaften Ausschmückung*) in Bede's account.⁵ Henry Morley (1888) raises the question whether the "marvel" may not "have been feigned."⁶ He says:

¹ *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Book IV, chap. xxiv.

² *Chronicon ex Chronicis*. ³ *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (1826), p. 4.

⁴ *History of English Literature*, Appendix to Book I, chaps. iv, viii.

⁵ *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur*, chap iii, Part I, § 4.

⁶ *English Writers*, II, 76.

CAEDMON'S DREAM SONG

Pious frauds were accordant with the civilisation of a time which thought it no sin to mislead heathen opinion in small or even great things, when it appeared that so, with hurt to none, men sitting in darkness might be brought more readily into the way of everlasting truth. There are few in any Church whom any plea would now so blind that they could think of stepping Godward on a lie. But of good Christians who sacrificed themselves to their work in the far past, let us not forget that when they did feign miracles (and here there was a miracle believed rather than feigned), they who feigned were also of the world in which they laboured, eager to stir with a new life rude masses of people steeped in superstition; for whom marvels were invented by their heathen teachers, and who, knowing as yet nothing of the ways of God in nature, saw the supernatural in every sight, sound, or incident that raised their wonder.

Morley comments, however, that the tale, read as it stands, "is perhaps only a misreading of the natural into the supernatural." Henry Bradley writes (1886) that "the story of the beginning of Caedmon's poetical career is no doubt more or less legendary."¹ G. H. Gerould (1916) speaks of Bede's story as "some-what adorned with legendary trappings."²

Some Old English scholars were led to disbelieve Bede's tale of the poet, or to doubt Caedmon's composition of the hymn, on the ground that much the same story has been told many times of the inspiration of other poets. The initial skeptic was Sir Francis Palgrave (1832).³ He was led to reject belief in the Caedmon story because of similar stories of peasant or husbandmen poets in other literatures. He found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*⁴ the story, theoretically attached to the author of the *Heliand*, of a Saxon plowman, who, while in charge of a few cattle, slept under a tree and heard a voice from Heaven ordering him to sing of God. He then became a poet, beginning his

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² *Saints' Legends* (1916), p. 60.

³ "Observations on the History of Caedmon," in *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts Related to Antiquity* (published by the Society of Antiquaries, London), XXIV (1832), 341.

⁴ XVI (Paris, 1644), 609. The story was first given in the second part of the *Praefatio* by Flacius Illyricus in 1562. It appears too late to have much weight and seems to have been borrowed from Bede.

career with a song of Creation. Henry Bradley, cited in the preceding paragraph, retained something of Palgrave's skepticism:

The incident of Caedmon's dream is on other grounds open to strong suspicion. The story is just such a legend as would be naturally suggested by the desire to account for the wonderful phenomenon of the display of great poetic genius on the part of an unlettered rustic, and similar traditions are found in the literatures of many different nations and periods.

What are some of the other uses of this legend of the gift of song in a dream in comparative literature and folk-lore, that have led many to disbelieve the Caedmon story? In the Exordium of the *Theogony* (l. 23) we are told that Hesiod kept sheep upon the slopes of Helicon; for it was there that the Muse descended to visit him, and, after rebuking the shepherds for their idleness and grossness, gave him her sacred laurel branch and taught him song. Recently, in a note, "Bede and Pausanias," Nellie S. Aurner¹ has pointed out another parallel in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* i. 21. In this passage Æschylus recounts that Dionysus appeared to him in his sleep, when he was a stripling, and bade him write tragedy, and later, on awakening, he found that he could do so.

Mrs. Aurner inquires in her note whether there are "other examples of analogous use of this motif." Besides the familiar Hesiod parallel and the story found by Sir Francis Palgrave, attached to the author of the *Heliand*, C. E. Bouterwek² di-

¹ *Modern Language Notes* (December, 1926), p. 535. Pausanias also narrates (ix. 23) concerning the "Hymn to Proserpina," composed by Pindar, that Proserpina appeared to Pindar in his sleep ten days before he died and told him that he should praise her in her own kingdom, though he had neglected her when on earth. The hymn was dictated to a Theban woman, a relation of Pausanias, by his ghost, and written down by her as soon as she awoke.

See also Dr. F. Klæber's note, "Analogues of the Story of Caedmon," *Modern Language Notes*, XLII, 390, which appeared after the present article on Caedmon's dream song was written.

² In *De Cedmone poeta Anglo-Saxonum vetustissimo brevis Dissertatio* (1845), Bouterwek speaks of "Quod miraculum" and of "haec simplicitas et credulitas illorum temporum." He cites the *Thorleifsaga* (from *Script. Hist. Island.*, III, 106) in *Caedmon's*

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rected attention, in 1854, to a Scandinavian story of Halbiorn, a goatherd who sought vainly to sing of a dead bard, Thorleifr, buried under the barrow where his goats pastured. One night a huge figure arose from the opening barrow, touched his tongue with its fingers, spoke some poetical lines, and returned to its tomb. Halbiorn retained the verses in his memory and became a poet. These narratives come from classical antiquity or from the Middle Ages. It is time, it seems to me, that the Caedmon story be reconsidered in relation to more recent lore of dream songs. In these days of the influence of Dr. Sigmund Freud and of the lore of the subconscious mind, Bede's story of Caedmon's dream poetry has a greatly enhanced interest. It was Mrs. Aurner's inquiry which led me to realize that the analogous material which might be arrayed alongside Bede's account of the composition of Caedmon's hymn is larger than might be thought; and that a survey of some of it brings the conviction that we should discard terms like "miracle," "marvel," and "legend," in discussions of it, unless we are prepared to use these terms when we speak of similar material coming from nearer our own time, or actually from our own time.

When lingering upon the subject of the poet's dependence on the spirit of song for his inspiration, one is tempted to begin, though they are not directly relevant, with Plato's remarks (*Ion* § 534):

There is no invention in him [the poet] until he has been inspired and is out of his senses, and the mind is no longer in him; when he has not attained to this state he is powerless and unable to utter his oracles.

One is tempted, also, to dwell upon the popularity of the Dream-Vision form in the Middle Ages as bearing relation to the dream inspiration of poetry. But my citations of added

des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen (1854), p. ccxxvi. Holthausen's *Altisländisches Lesebuch* reprints it for modern readers. Bouterwek also points out that J. Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie* gives a shorter version (see 3d ed., Vol. I, chap. xxx, on "Dichtkunst"). Grimm cites the analogues of Homer, Pindar, and Æschylus, in this chapter.

material will be limited to the more directly germane, and they will be drawn from modern times.

We have no thought of the supernatural in connection with Milton; yet it is not new to remark that Milton seems to have thought of himself as divinely inspired. Like Dante, he expresses his dependence on the Muses. Witness these passages from *Paradise Lost*, to be associated with his opening invocation.

. . . . Yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when Morn
Purples the East. Still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few. . . .

If answerable style I can obtain
Of my celestial Patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored,
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse. . . .

. . . . Unless an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depressed; and much they may if all be mine,
Not hers who brings it nightly to my ear.

Milton's Urania is a supernatural figure who appears to him in nocturnal visitations and guides his poetry. To Milton, as to Caedmon, a figure appears who directly inspires his verse.

Blake, too, saw a figure who impelled him to the composition of his *Songs of Innocence*.

On a cloud I saw a child
And he laughing sang to me:
"Pipe a song about a Lamb!"
So I piped with merry cheer.
"Piper, pipe that song again";
So I piped: he wept to hear.

Reference may be made in passing to Young's "Night Thoughts," to Coleridge's dream poem "Kubla Khan," and to Keats's "Sleep and Poetry."

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Clearly the conception of the soul creating poetry in sleep belongs to no one age but is general and persistent.¹ Of special interest, I think, and deserving of attention in any discussion of dream poetry are the accounts of dream composition to be found in the poetry of aboriginal or primitive peoples.

The account of Chippewa music by Frances Densmore² contains a section of dream songs afterward used as war songs or otherwise. Miss Densmore remarks:

Like other dream songs, these were said to have been composed during a dream or on waking from a dream. Many of them are associated with some animal which becomes the *manidó* of the dreamer. . . . In other instances he imagines that animals or objects in nature are singing and that he learns their songs. . . . All the dream songs are supposed to be spontaneous melodies, and therein lies their chief importance in connection with the analytical study of Indian music.

The story of one song (No. 112) is that when the composer was a boy he had a dream, and in his dream he heard the trees singing as though they were alive. When he awoke he made up the song, in which he repeats what he heard the trees say. Another youth heard the crows in the trees and imagined he learned his song from them. The song was first a dream song and then a war-dance song.

Miss Densmore writes elsewhere that the

oldest Indian songs were said to be "received in dreams." This process cannot be described but seems akin to what we call "inspiration." It does not appear that songs received in this manner were ever changed, the belief being that the song was taught the Indian by a supernatural visitant. Such songs were associated with the exercise of what is commonly termed supernatural power.³

¹ The subject of the relation of dreams and poetry is treated in *Poetry and Dreams* by Professor F. C. Prescott (1912), some paragraphs of which are reprinted in *The Poetic Mind*, by the same author (1922). Of interest also is the chapter "The Spark from Heaven" in *The Poet's Poet* by Elizabeth Atkins (1922).

² *Bureau of American Ethnology*, No. 45 (1910), pp. 126-165.

³ *American Speech* (June, 1927), p. 393.

When writing of "The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," James Mooney observes of the ghost-dance songs:

The Ghost-dance songs were of the utmost importance in connection with the study of the messiah religion, as we find embodied in them much of the doctrine itself, with more of the special tribal mythologies, together with such innumerable references to old-time customs, ceremonies, and modes of life long since obsolete as make up a regular symposium of aboriginal thought and practice. There is no limit to the number of these songs, as every trance at every dance produces a new one, the trance subject after regaining consciousness embodying his experience in the spirit world in the form of a song, which is sung at the next dance and succeeding performances until superseded by other songs originating in the same way. Thus, a single dance may easily result in twenty or thirty new songs. While songs are thus born and die, certain ones which appeal especially to the Indian heart, on account of their mythology, pathos, or peculiar sweetness, live and are perpetuated. There are also with each tribe certain songs which are a regular part of the ceremonial, as the opening song and the closing song, which are repeated at every dance. Of these the closing song is the most important and permanent. In some cases certain songs constitute a regular series, detailing the experiences of the same person in successive trance visions. First in importance, for number, richness of reference, beauty of sentiment, and rhythm of language, are the songs of the Arapaho.¹

Mr. Mooney reprints songs from the trance-visions of many singers, relating their trance-experiences. Some tell of messengers from the spirit world, and in some (as No. 22) the vision is of the Messiah and the song inspired by him.

A. W. Howitt, writing of the native tribes of Southeast Australia, relates that the Ngarigo tribe believed that they could see ghosts in dreams, and the Yuin Gommeras that they could get songs in dreams. One tribesman said that his uncle came to him during sleep and taught him songs (charms) against sickness and other evils.

In the tribes with which I have acquaintance I find it to be a common belief that the songs, using that word in its widest meaning, as including all

¹ *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 952.

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kinds of aboriginal poetry, are obtained by the bards from the spirits of the deceased, usually of their kindred, during sleep in dreams. Thus, as I have before said, the *Birraark* [who combined the functions of the seer, the spirit-medium, and the bard] professed to receive his poetic inspirations from the *Mrarts* [ghosts], as well as the accompanying dances, which he was supposed to have first seen in ghost-land. In the Narrang-ga tribe there are men who profess to learn songs and dances from the departed spirits. These men are called *Gurildras*.

In the Yuan tribe some men received their songs in dreams, others when waking.¹

Illustrative material of this character might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Careful search would show, I think, many Indian examples of stories of dream-song singers very closely paralleling the Caedmon story. A subject that may well have the attention of some investigator is the conception of poetry as a kind of language especially suitable to spirits, or perhaps especially suitable to revelations. There is a degree of kinship between the poem and the oracle.

It has been the purpose of this note to point out that instead of referring to the Caedmon story as a "legend" or "marvel," we should associate it with the dream-lore and poetry of all peoples of all ages. Certainly the evidence brought forward for suspecting the authenticity of the story, namely, the widespread currency of stories of similar character, is really no evidence against its genuineness. In particular, it should not lead us to skepticism concerning Caedmon's existence or the nature of his inspiration. Poets themselves, and others as well, have always revered their gifts as something apart from themselves, and divine. In the history of the human race, many a poet, in any country and any age, has had the conviction that a spirit not his own was inspiring him.

¹ *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (1904), pp. 416, 436.

THE *VASA MORTIS* PASSAGE IN THE OLD ENGLISH *SALOMON AND SATURN*

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Since John Kemble¹ first printed the Old English poetic dialogues of *Salomon and Saturn*, little has been done to elucidate their many mysteries. Vincenti's introductory study,² which discussed the relations of the Old English poems to Oriental legend and to later medieval versions in other languages, was never followed by the promised edition and commentary. Though the lines are consecutively numbered in Grein-Wülker,³ it is well recognized that the verses found in Corpus Christi College 422 really form two poems, the first ending with the plain statement that the Son of David had conquered and overcome "Caldea eorl," i.e., Saturn (175-178), and the second beginning with a separate introduction (179-201), the first line of which is a characteristic opening: *Hwæt ic flitan gefrægn on fyrndagum*.⁴ Of the two, the first, in which Solomon, at Saturn's request, explains the power of the palm-twigged Pater Noster over demons, is the more fantastic; but the second, in which Saturn propounds questions in the manner of the *Váfprúðnismál* on the giants and demons of old and the mysteries of life and

¹ *The Dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus*, printed for the Aelfric Society, London, 1848.

² Arthur Ritter von Vincenti, *Die altenglischen Dialoge von Salomon und Saturn* (Leipzig, 1904), Erster Teil: *Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Philologie*, Vol. XXXI.

³ *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, III, Part II, 58-82.

⁴ Ten Brink, *History of English Literature* (trans. Kennedy), I, 89; Vincenti, pp. 52-53; Brandl, "Englische Literatur," in Paul's *Grundriss*, II, Part I, 1092. It should be noted that *Hwæt ic flitan gefrægn* is written in large capitals in the MS, p. 13.

death, is the more puzzling in detail. For Solomon's riddling answers, even where the text is complete, are as mysterious as Saturn's questions.

No source for either poem has been found, though it has frequently been suggested that the lost *Contradictio Salomonis*, condemned together with other apocryphal writings in the famous Gelasian Decree¹ of the fifth or sixth century, may have been the basis of the Old English poems.² At any rate, behind the second poem, with which we are here primarily concerned, doubtless lies a Latin original that embodied much Oriental lore derived from rabbinical sources. A great deal of obscure apocryphal material found its way into Old English literature, and Max Förster has suggested that such legends as that of *Salomon and Saturn* and *Jamnes and Mambres* (also condemned in the Gelasian Decree) were preserved in England through the influence of the Celtic church, which, because of its isolation, maintained an independent tradition.³ The very circumstances that led to the preservation of such legends in England render it unlikely that the immediate sources of such a poem as the *Salomon and Saturn* will be discovered. For the church's condemnation of all apocryphal material savoring of magic and demonology has resulted in the disappearance of a vast body of writings in Latin that touched on these forbidden subjects.⁴ It

¹ The best edition is that of Ernst von Dobschütz, "Das Decretum Gelasianum," *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alichristlichen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1912), XXXVIII, 4.

² Kemble, p. 12; M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament* (London, 1920), p. 52; and Vincenti, p. 124, think that it is unlikely to have been the direct source, and that it might have been merely a dialogue of Solomon with the Queen of Sheba, or with Hiram of Tyre or Abdemon.

³ "Das lat.-ae. Fragment des Apokryphe von Jamnes und Mambres," Herrig's *Archiv*, CVII (1901), 15-28, esp. pp. 27-28.

⁴ Cf. M. Gaster, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* (1896), p. 161: "From that period [the time of the Gnostics], then, up to the twelfth or thirteenth century, there is a gap which neither Psellus nor the Testament of Solomon fill sufficiently. All those ancient magical books, being declared the work of the evil spirit, were successfully hunted up and destroyed."

is therefore only by the patient piecing together of details from older sources that such mysterious figures as the *Vasa Mortis* worshiped by the Philistines, and the Wandering Wolf, the friend of Nimrod (211 ff.), are likely to be explained. The following pages are an attempt to throw some light on the elements of which the *Vasa Mortis* passage is composed.

The passage in which Solomon describes the bird *Vasa Mortis* contains, in the statement that Solomon had bound him (224 ff.), so obvious an allusion to the Hebrew legend on which the dialogue as a whole is ultimately based, that it is necessary to summarize, first of all, the probable development of the story in which Solomon debates with Saturn.¹ The germ of an exchange of wisdom between Solomon and another person is undoubtedly to be found in the Old Testament itself, in such passages as that where the Queen of Sheba "came to prove Solomon with hard questions" (II Chron. 9:1; I Kings 10:1). But it is the highly developed Oriental legends of Solomon's conversations with demons that contain matter more definitely related to the Old English dialogue. In the Talmudic writings, Solomon binds the demon Ashmedai (Asmodeus), through whom the devils are made to help him build the Temple. When Solomon questions Ashmedai about his strange conduct, he discloses some of his supernatural wisdom.² Ashmedai later, when his chains are loosed, demonstrates his greatness by forcing Solomon to become a beggar and taking his place as king.³ According to another legend, Solomon, on the wings of an eagle, visits the place where the fallen angels, Azza and Azrael, are chained with iron fetters. Through the power of his magic ring

¹ For more elaborate discussion, see Kemble, pp. 9 ff.; Vincenti, pp. 1-25.

² Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1909-25), IV, 165-168; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, I (1700), 350-357. For summaries of both the Hebrew and Arabic legends see Salzburger, *Die Salomosage in der semitischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1907); and for further bibliography, see Vincenti, pp. 5-13. Cf. also the binding of Asmodeus by Raphael in Tob. 8:2.

³ Ginzberg, IV, 168-171; Eisenmenger, I, 356-357.

they are forced to reveal the heavenly mysteries to the king.¹ Similarly, in Arabic legend, Solomon converses with the king of the djinns, Shachruch (corresponding to the Hebrew Ashmedai), who tells him of the spheres of Fire, Water, and Air, and of the World-Dragon who embraces the Universe.² In another Arabic legend, Solomon converses with Simurg about fate and prophecy (cf. *Sal. and Sat.*, 301-385).³ The earliest record of such stories in the West is the Greek epigraph of about the third or fourth century called the "Testament of Solomon," in which Solomon, by means of his magic ring, summons, one after another, a host of demons (including Orniās, Beelzeboul, and Asmodeus) who reveal to him their names and powers.⁴ But the Hebrew legends, in which Solomon learns of heavenly mysteries from the demons in his power, are much closer than the "Testament" to the lofty discourse of our tenth-century Solomon and Saturn on demons and death and fate. It is plain that an exchange of wisdom between Solomon and a demon in his power has in the course of the centuries become a dialogue between Solomon, representing the Judeo-Christian tradition, and Saturn, representing the pagan wisdom of the Orient. Saturn, as has often been remarked, is the god of classical antiquity only in name. He is a prince of the Chaldeans (176); he is a descendant of the rebels who built the Tower of Babel (203 ff.); and a distinct reminiscence of his demonic origin is found in Solomon's reproach (328-329):

Pū eart swīþe bittres cynnes,
eorre eormenstrȳnde.

¹ Ginzberg, III, 149-150; Eisenmenger, II, 430-431.

² Vogt, *Die deutschen Dichtungen von Salomon und Markolf* (Halle, 1880), p. liii; Vincenti, p. 10.

³ Vincenti, p. 11, who cites Joseph von Hammer, *Rosenöl* (Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1813), I, 244 ff., which I have not seen.

⁴ C. C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922); also in Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, CXXII, 1316-57; translated into German by Bornemann, *Illgens Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie*, XIV (1844), 3, 9-56, and into English by Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, IX (1898), 1-45.

Thus Solomon's physical mastery of the demons as related in Oriental lore has become a spiritual dominance in the Christian poem. Solomon no longer seeks forbidden wisdom from the demon of the underworld, but Saturn learns from Solomon the superiority of Christian wisdom over the false teaching of the Chaldeans.¹

The *Vasa Mortis* passage, to which we may now turn, begins with Saturn's declaration (246-251): "There is one thing in the world about which curiosity, a tormenting spirit, has disturbed me for fifty years and does even yet, until the eternal Lord shall grant that a wiser man satisfy me."

Solomon, immediately divining what has mystified Saturn, replies (252-280):²

Sōð is ðæt ðū sagast, sēme ic ðē recene
ymb ðā wrætlican wiht: wilt ðū ðæt ic ðē secgge?
Ān fugel siteð on Filistina
255 middelgemærum; munt is hine ymbūtan,
gēap gylden weall: georne hine healdað
witan Filistina, wēnað ðæs ðe nāht is,

¹ On the name "Marcolf," for which it is usually assumed that Saturn has been substituted in the Old English dialogues, see especially Hofmann, "Ueber Jourdain de Blaivies, Apollonius von Tyrus, Salomon und Marcolf," *Sitzungsberichte der kg. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Classe I* (1871), 418-433. The Latin twelfth-century dialogue "Salomon et Marcolfus" and French versions (for which see Kemble, pp. 17-60; Vogt, *Einleitung*; and Vincenti, pp. 18-22) are largely collections of proverbs on which Marcolf or Morolf makes merry and often indecent comment. They have little in common with the Old English poems except the name Marcolf, which occurs in our poem (189: *Marculfes eard*). It is worthy of note that Solomon's antagonist in the Russian prose version of the seduction of Solomon's wife is Kitovras, a corruption of *кѣтраврос* (Jagić, "Die christlich-mythologische Schicht in der russischen Volksepik," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, I [1875], 103 ff.). Wesseloſsky (see *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, VI [1882], 394) makes the following identification: Asmodeus = Kitovras = Saturn = Marolf, as does also Vogt, p. lv.

² The text is that of Grein-Wülker, with the addition of marks of length, and the expansion of the abbreviation for *and*.

THE *VASA MORTIS*

- ǰæt hiene him scyle eall ǰēod on genāman
 wāpna ecggum,¹ hīe ǰæs wære cunnon:²
 260 healdað hine niehta gehwylce norðan and sūðan
 on twā healfa tū hund wearda.
 Se fugel hafað IIII hēafdu
 medumra manna and hē is on middan hwælen,³
 gēowes hē hafað fiðeru and griffus fēt,
 265 ligeð lonnum fæst, lōcað unhīere,
 swīðe swingeð and his searo hringeð,
 gilleð gēomorlice and his gyren sefað,
 wyllēð hine on ǰām wīte,⁴ wunað unlustum,
 singgeð syllice: seldum æfre
 270 his leoma licggað; lengað hine hearde,
 ǰyncēð him ǰæt sīe ǰria XXX ǰūsēd wintra,
 ær hē dōmdægēs dynn gehyre.
 Nyste hine on ǰære foldan fira ænig
 eorðan cynnes, ærðon ic hine āna onfand
 275 and hine ǰā gebændan hēt ofer brād wæter,
 ǰæt hine se mōdega hēht Melotes bearn

¹ The meaning of 257b–259 is not clear. Vincenti (p. 70) translates: ‘Sie glauben ohne Grund, dass ihn das ganze Volk ihnen rauben möchte.’ He suggests, as an alternative (taking *naht* as ‘night’ instead of *nāht*, ‘not,’ and presumably emending *eall ǰēod* to *elðēod*): ‘Sie glauben, dass in der Nacht ein fremdes Volk ihn rauben möchte.’ This would, I suppose, also necessitate the emendation *ǰe* to *ǰā*: literally, ‘They expect this—when night is—that, etc.’ In the latter case, one might possibly compare for the phraseology Cant. 3: 7–8: “En lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel: omnes tenentes gladios, et ad bella doctissimi: uniuscujusque ensis super femur propter timores nocturnos.” It is curious that the Septuagint calls the Philistines Ἀλλόφυλοι, which might = *elðēod*.

² 259b appears to mean: ‘They know a means of protection [wære] for that or against that event.’

³ *hwælen*, ‘like a whale,’ is unrecorded elsewhere. Kock, “Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,” p. 68, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, Ny Följd, Avd. I (1918), 14, suggests that *swæ leon* is hidden behind *hwælen*, but this is unlikely in view of the fact that the chief god of the Philistines was the fish-god Dagon (see below). He emends *gēowes* (264) to an unrecorded *gēowes*, ‘eagle’ (cf. ON *gǰōðr*), but *gēow* = *gīw* (cited by Bosworth-Toller Suppl. from Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, II, 41, 3–4: *giú*, *gripem*; *giú*, *griphus*).

⁴ ‘Rolleth or twisteth him in torment.’ Holthausen’s suggestion of *wylleþ* in the *Sprachschatz*, s.v. *wyllan*, seems unnecessary.

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Filistīna fruma	fæste gebindan,
lonnum belūcan	wið lēodgryre.
Done fugel hātað	feorbūende
280 Filistīna fruman	<i>Vasa mortis.</i>

The chief points of interest in this remarkable description are: that Solomon himself binds the demon or orders him to be bound; that the princes of the Philistines hold him in reverence and are fearful of his being taken away from them; that he has two hundred guardians, and waits in torment for the coming of Doomsday; and that his name is *Vasa Mortis*. I shall, therefore, attempt to explain: the origin of the story; the probable manner in which the Philistines became involved; the reason for the presence of the two hundred guards and for the demon's awaiting the coming of Doomsday; and the origin of the name *Vasa Mortis*.

1. *Vasa Mortis* and Asmodeus

The origin of the story is plain from Solomon's statement that "he alone discovered *Vasa Mortis*, and bade him be conquered (or fettered) over the broad waters, so that the bold son of Melot, prince of the Philistines, bade him be fast bound." This can be nothing else than a version of the legend of Solomon binding the demon outlined above (pp. 242-243). Several details of the ancient legend reappear here. As in the Hebrew story, Solomon here accomplishes his conquest through an intermediary. According to rabbinical sources: "Solomon sent his chief man, Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, to capture Asmodeus. For this purpose he provided him with a chain. . . . Benaiah, watching him from a tree, then came, and drew the chain about Asmodeus's neck."¹ In the Old English, similarly, Solomon does not do the binding himself, but it is accomplished through the Philistine prince, the son of Melot.² Again, according to the

¹ Ginzberg, IV, 166-167, and Eisenmenger, I, 350-352, cite this legend from the *Tractate Gittin*.

² Holthausen (*Angl. Beibl.*, XXVII, 355) identifies Melot with the Mellothi, a son of Heman, mentioned in I Chron. 25:4; 26. It may be noted, as a slight corroboration,

legend in which Solomon visits the fettered demons Azza and Azzael, "The eagle would reconnoitre the mountains of darkness, until he had spied out the spot in which the fallen angels 'Azza' and 'Azzael' lie chained with iron fetters—a spot which no one, not even a bird, may visit."¹ Of the deserted mountain as a dwelling place of demons there may be a reminiscence in "A mountain is about him" (255),² and in Solomon's statement: "No man in the world of earthly race knew him until I alone discovered him" (273–274), there is a distinct inheritance of the tradition that no mortal might visit the dwelling place of demons.

Thus the *Vasa Mortis* passage is, in microcosm, a reflection of the very story out of which the dialogue originally sprang. Saturn, if he but knew it, has been consumed with curiosity for fifty years about the creature who has now become himself.

Although Asmodeus is not described in the Hebrew legends of the "Testament of Solomon," his physical characteristics have doubtless been largely transformed in the *Vasa Mortis*. It is hardly likely that the exact appearance of this griffon-like demon can be duplicated elsewhere. Yet nearly all the elements of this composite creature may be found in the various demons appearing before Solomon in the "Testament," for they include "a three-headed dragon of fearful appearance," "one like in ap-

that Solomon is said to be wiser than Ethan Ezrahita and Heman and Chalcol and Dorda, sons of Makol in I Kings 3:31, and further that it is from this very Makol (Machol) that Hofmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 419 ff., would derive Marcol-Marcolf.

¹ Ginzberg, IV, 149. On the mountain of darkness, see *ibid.*, V, 170; Eisenmenger, II, 439; cf. also the description of the scene of the dragon-combat, probably identical with the abode of the demons, in an earlier passage of our poem (216–217):

"Forðan ðās foldan ne mæg fira ænig
 ðone mercstede mon gesēcan,
 fugol geflēogan ne ðon mā foldan n[ēat]."

² Cf. the abode of the griffon in the "Wonders of the East": "Donne is sum dun adamans hatte, on ðære dune bið þæt fugelcynn þe grifus hatte" (Cockayne, *Nar ratiunculae Anglice Conscriptae* [London, 1861], p. 38).

pearance to a dragon, but having the face and hands of a man," "another demon having in front the shape of a horse, but behind a fish."¹

2. *Vasa Mortis* as the Philistine God

At least one of the peculiarities of the *Vasa Mortis*, "the middle like a whale," is the result of the demon's having here become a god of the Philistines. Vincenti's² suggestion that the creature so carefully guarded by the Philistines is the Philistine god Dagon,³ whose destruction is recorded in I Samuel, chapter 5, is more than plausible. That Dagon was a fish-god was the usual tradition, both Jewish and Christian, of the Middle Ages, based perhaps on a variant interpretation of the obscure Hebrew of I Sam. 5:1, where the Authorized Version has, "Only the *stump* of Dagon was left to him," and in the margin, "Or, the fishy part." Jerome, for example, defines Dagon, *piscis Tristitiae*.⁴

The process by which a demon bound by Solomon came to be represented as the chief god of the Philistines is not difficult to follow. The Jews anticipated the Christian Fathers in the practice of identifying the gods of the heathen with demons and evil spirits,⁵ so that the fusion may have taken place either in Jewish or Christian writings. But how did it happen that Asmodeus came to be identified with the Philistine god? The

¹ *Patr. Graeca*, CXXII, 1320-25. Vincenti compares Dan. 7:6: *Post haec aspiciet, et ecce alia quasi pardus, et alas habebat quasi avis, quattuor super se, et quattuor capita erant in bestia.*

² Pp. 70-71.

³ On Dagon as the chief god of the Philistine Pantheon, see Macalister, *The Philistines, Their History and Civilization* (London, 1911), p. 100 and *passim*; he remarks that "the current idea is that he was of merman form, the upper half man, the lower half fish" (p. 100). See further the articles on Dagon in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, 412, and Hauck's *Realencyclopädie für protest. Theologie u. Kirche*, IV, 424-427.

⁴ *Patr. Lat.*, XXIII, 1218.

⁵ W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1906), p. 351.

link that led to the association and fusion of the two may, I venture to suggest, be found in the following statement of the "Testament of Solomon":

And I adjured him by the name of the Lord *Sabaôth*, saying: "Fear God, *Asmodeus*, and tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." But he said: "By *Raphael*, the archangel that stands before the throne of God. But the liver and gall of a fish put me to flight, when smoked over ashes of the tamarisk." I again asked him, and said: "Hide not aught from me. For I am Solomon, son of David, King of Israel. Tell me the name of the fish which thou revereest." And he answered: "It is the *Glanos* by name, and is found in the rivers of Assyria; wherefore it is that I roam about in those parts."¹

The burning of the gall, heart, and liver of a fish is apparently derived from the sixth and seventh chapters of the Book of Tobit, where this is the means employed for exorcising Asmodeus. Since this passage in Tobit might easily be interpreted to mean that Asmodeus himself was a fish-demon or had some connection with a fish, we have in the "Testament" the further statement that he worshiped the fish *Glanos*. Some such interpretation as has been developed in the "Testament" would be enough to connect Asmodeus and Dagon and lead to the identification of the demon bound by Solomon with the fish-god of the Philistines. The curious and awkward repetition by which it is said that Solomon bade the demon be bound, so that the son of Melot bade him be bound, is probably the result of the attempt to graft the Philistines and their god on to the Solomon legend.

3. *Vasa Mortis* and the Book of Enoch

In our poem, two hundred guards watch the bound demon night and day (260-261). In the apocryphal Book of Enoch (I Enoch or the Ethiopic Book)² is told the story of the fallen angels according to which two hundred angels (the sons of God

¹ *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XI, 21; cf. McCown, pp. 23-24.

² R. C. Charles, "The Book of Enoch," in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913), II, 163-277, esp. chaps. vi-xi. Cf. Ginzberg, I, 124 ff., and commentary.

of Gen. 6:2) descend to the earth, take unto themselves wives among the sinful daughters of men, introduce abominable wickedness and magic arts into the world, and are punished by being bound beneath the hills of the earth until the Great Judgment. Azazel and Semjaza are their chief leaders, and their punishment is specially noted (En. 10:4-5): "And Again the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness.' " It is thus that Solomon finds Azazel (Azzael)¹ bound in the "mountains of darkness" in the legend referred to above (p. 242).

Now these two hundred fallen angels are consistently called the Watchers: Greek *εγρηγορες*, Latin *vigiles*.² Thus 1:5: "And the Watchers shall quake"; 10:9: "And destroy the children of the Watchers from amongst men" (so 10:15; 12:4; 13:10; 14:1, 3; 15:2; 16:1, 2; and Bk. Jub. 4:22; 7:21; 8:3; 10:5). This epithet, "Watchers," *vigiles*, applied to the two hundred fallen angels, was, I suggest, misinterpreted, and taken to mean that they were watching or guarding one of the bound demons, originally their leader. It need not be supposed that the *Salomon and Saturn* or its Latin original was acquainted at first hand with the Book of Enoch, though this apocryphon was well known in the Middle Ages.³ But it may be assumed that in some account of Solomon's visit to the demons bound in the

¹ Azzael is identical with Azazel, and Semjaza is to be identified with Azza (Ginzberg, V, 152), so that the two leaders in the Book of Enoch are the same as those who appear in the Solomon legend.

² On the origin of this name, originally applied to gods and holy angels, and then because of the fall of the highest angels applied to the fallen angels in particular, see Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p. 371. This term is first used in Dan. 4:17 (Vulg. 4:14): "This matter is by decree of the watchers"; cf. Dan. 4:13, 23. "Watchers" translates the Aramaic ܫܝܪܝܢ (*širîn*).

³ Lawlor, *Journal of Philology*, XXV (1897), 164-225. It was from the excerpts of Syncellus from the Book of Enoch that Milton probably derived the name of Azazel (Saurat, *Milton, Man and Thinker* [New York, 1925], pp. 245-255).

mountains of darkness (see above, p. 250) the story of the reason for their plight, i.e., the tale of the fall of the two hundred Watchers, was mentioned. This is rendered all the more likely by the fact that Solomon's intercourse with them was for the purpose of learning the very magic arts for the introduction of which into the world they had been condemned (En. 7:1). Finally, it may be noted that if our poet misinterpreted the term "Watchers," doubtless meaningless to him, and construed it in his own fashion, this mistake would be closely paralleled by his blunder in applying the term *Vasa Mortis* to a single demon. Whatever the course of the story's development, some connection will probably be admitted between a story involving two hundred Watchers and the binding of demons and one in which two hundred guardians watch a bound demon for a reason that the poet does not make very clear.

Another resemblance to the Book of Enoch is to be found in the fact that the *Vasa Mortis*, now writhing in torment, longs for the coming of Doomsday: "He longs sorely, it seems thrice thirty thousand years to him till he hear the din of Doomsday." In the Book of Enoch, the fallen angels are to be kept bound in darkness until the Day of Judgment. "Bind them fast for seventy generations in the valleys of the earth, till the day of their judgment and of their consummation, till the judgment that is forever consummated" (10:12).¹ To be sure, it is here added (10:13) that "in those days they shall be led off into the abyss of fire." But in other apocalyptic passages, the fact that the punishment of the angels will be worse after the judgment is not expressly stated. Thus in the Book of Jubilees (5:10): "And after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before the Lord." It is not precisely clear whether the *Vasa Mortis* longs for the Day of Judgment because he will be

¹ Cf. further, 55:4; 90:21-24, and Bousset, p. 288.

loosed from his chains or because complete destruction may then end his misery.¹ But it is certain that his impatient waiting for the final judgment is the result of the tradition of apocalyptic literature that the fallen angels shall then be judged.

4. The Name *Vasa Mortis*

The name *Vasa Mortis* is obviously peculiar inasmuch as it is a plural. It has not been noted that it is directly derived from the Vulgate (Ps. 7:14): "Et in eo paravit vasa mortis, sagittas suas ardentibus effecit." Now the interpretation of *vasa mortis* commonly current in the Middle Ages is that of Augustine, who suggested that the instruments of death were heretics: "An forte haeretici?"² But another interpretation that found favor was that the *vasa mortis* represent evil spirits. Thus Origen comments: Σκέψη θανάτου εἰσιν ἀκάθαρτα λογικὰ ἢ αἱ τὸν θάνατον ἔχουσαι ψυχαί.³ Similarly, Hervaeus declares of the *vasa furoris* of Isa. 13:5: "Ipse ergo vasa furoris mittit, id est malignos spiritus relaxat."⁴

The persistence of this interpretation is proved by the fact that in the great revival of demonology that took place in the sixteenth century the *vasa mortis* or *vasa furoris* constitute the third of the nine orders of devils. Agrippa of Nettesheim, in his *De Occulta Philosophia* iii. 18 (ed. Paris, 1567, p. 360), declares: "Tertio ordine sunt vasa iniquitatis, quae et vasa irae dicuntur: hi sunt inventores malorum, omniumque malarum artium

¹ Cf. further, Rev. 20:2-3, where the dragon (Antichrist) is bound "till the thousand years should be fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season"; and also the story of Thomas of Cantimpré (cited by Thorndike, *Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 380) that the apostle Peter had shut up in a mountain near Rome a dragon that would live until the end of the world. Antichrist is destroyed *aldru bilòsid*, according to the OS *Genesis*, 147, at the Day of Judgment.

² "Enarratio in Psalmum VII," *Patr. Lat.*, XXXVI, 106. This is copied, among others, by Rufinus, *ibid.*, XXI, 674; Pseudo-Bede, *ibid.*, XCIII, 521; Walafrid Strabo, *ibid.*, CXIV, 766; Remigius, *ibid.*, CXXXI, 180.

³ *Patr. Graeca*, XII, 1181; cf. Eusebius on Ps. 7:13-14 (*ibid.*, XXIII, 125).

⁴ *Patr. Lat.*, CLXXXI, 152.

. . . . de quibus in Genesi in benedictionibus Symeon et Levi, ait Jacob: Vasa iniquitatis in habitationibus eorum in consilium eorum non veniat anima mea, quos Psalmista vocat, vasa mortis, Esaias vocat vasa irae, Ezechiel vasa interfectionis, et interitus: et princeps eorum Belial.”¹ Agrippa’s list, with minor variations, is repeated by Johannes Wierus, *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (Basel, 1568), cap. xxii; Hockerius, *Der Teufel Selbs in Theatrum Diabolorum* (Frankfort, 1569), pages lv–lvi; Zanchus, *De Operibus Dei*, in *Opera* (Geneva, 1619), Vol. I (iv. 17). Burton paraphrases Agrippa in the *Anatomy*, Part I, section 2, and Heywood lists the same nine orders in his *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels* (London, 1635), Lib. VII. This classification is presumably older than Agrippa, though I have not been able to trace Agrippa’s source.² *Vasa mortis* was, then, interpreted as evil spirits or demons from Origen to Agrippa. The association of the two great destroyers, Death and the Devil, it may be remarked, is almost inevitable, and was doubtless facilitated by such biblical passages as Rev. 6:8: *Nomen illi mors*.³

The poet of *Salomon and Saturn* must have been familiar with some commentary in which *vasa mortis* was applied to demons or to an order of demons. In spite of the fact that he has erroneously taken the whole for the part, and made a singular of a plural, *Vasa Mortis* is not an unfitting name for the doomed creature—strange transformation of Asmodeus-Dagon—whose plight is so vividly described in Old English verse.

¹ The princes of the various orders are: (1) Beelzebub, (2) Python, (3) Belial, (4) Asmodeus, (5) Satan, (6) Meririm, (7) Apollion (Abbadon), (8) Astaroth, and (9) Mammon.

² The conception of an ordered realm of demons goes back ultimately to Jewish legend (article “Demonology” in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*).

³ For biblical passages where Death and the Angel of Hades are identified, see Bousset, p. 290, n. 2; and cf. Gregory, *Patr. Lat.*, LXXVI, 675.

A PUTATIVE CHARTER TO ALDHELM



ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK, *Late of Yale University*¹

The historian Stubbs, writing in the third volume (1871) of the *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* edited by A. W. Haddan and himself, says (p. 124) of the document found in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* (ed. Hamilton), pages 347-349, and purporting to be a charter-grant of Bishop Leutherius (670-676) to Aldhelm and his successors at Malmesbury, with date of August 26, 675, that it is fictitious,² the first genuine grant to the monastery being by Ini of Wessex, A.D. 701. And elsewhere (*Dict. Chr. Biog.*, III, 237) Stubbs says (1882) of the Malmesbury charters in general that very few of them have any pretension to genuineness. Already in 1839, Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, Vol. I, No. 11, p. 14) had stigmatized this charter with an asterisk, a sign indicating (*ibid.*, p. cxv) "charters which are either ascertained forgeries, or which from any cause appear to me liable to suspicion."

Notwithstanding Stubbs's positive rejection, various attempts have been made to rehabilitate this charter, either in whole or in part, no doubt influenced by a consideration that Stubbs himself adduces.³ Thus in 1883, Hahn (*Bonifaz und Lul*, p. 8, n. 3) merely remarks, with reference to Kemble's starring

¹ Died September 1, 1927.

² Cf. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, III, 708.

³ See *ibid.*: "Although this is not genuine, Leutherius was bishop during a considerable part of Aldhelm's early career, and it was by him, according to the biographers, that Aldhelm was ordained priest, and appointed abbat of Malmesbury" (*V. Aldhelmi*, Faricius [ed. Giles], cap. i, p. 359; Will. Malmesb., *G. Pont.* [ed. Hamilton], pp. 334, 347, 363, 385).

A PUTATIVE CHARTER TO ALDHELM

of this charter, that any statements based upon such documents are only relatively true, while in 1894 Böhnhoff's opinion was (*Aldhelm von Malmesbury*, p. 59) that it belongs among documents that are neither forgeries of the Norman period nor suspicious, but such as had been interpolated by monks of the tenth and eleventh centuries, so that all they need is to have the spurious additions removed. Accordingly, Böhnhoff proceeds to purge the charter as delivered by William of Malmesbury, and to print the residue on his page 60. In 1905, Roger (*L'Enseignement des Lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, p. 291) accepts the authority of the charter without sign of question. Finally, Ehwald, in his edition (1919), page 507, mentions fourteen charters included by Kemble in his first volume, of which that authority is willing to admit only one, No. 48, as of incontestable genuineness. Following this prefatory note, Ehwald prints Kemble's No. 11, the putative charter of Leutherius to Aldhelm, as the first of a series of five documents that he deems worthy to be received among the works of Aldhelm (*quæ inter opera Aldhelmi recipereutur*).

The first paragraph of this charter was, according to Böhnhoff, peculiarly in need of investigation. He adds (pp. 59-60):

Abgesehen von der ungemein schwülstigen und schwer verständlichen Schreibart desselben, verrät sich uns sein Inhalt als die Arbeit eines Fälschers aus dem 10. Jahrhundert. Dieses beweist ganz klar der Bezug auf das Herrenwort Lc. 21, 29-36, und die damit verbundene Andeutung baldiger Nähe des Weltunterganges.¹

Herewith I print (from Ehwald, pp. 507-508) the introduction to the charter, and follow it with a series of extracts from the undoubted works of Aldhelm (ed. Ehwald), italicizing those words

¹ Against this apparent testimony may be cited Ehwald's quotation (p. 508) of a clause from a letter of Bishop Lull's, who died in 786: *Adpropinquante iam mundi fine*. If such a clause could be written in the eighth century, there is no need to assume that a reference to the approaching end of the world must have been written as late as the tenth.

and phrases of the latter that correspond to those of the introduction (though sometimes with another grammatical ending). The extracts between pages 228 and 323, inclusive, are from the prose *De Virginitate*; on 479-480, from the epistle to Wihtfrith; between 488 and 494, from the letter to Ehfrith (Hēahfrith?); between 500 and 502, from the letter to Wilfrith's abbots; on page 201, from the *De Metris* (epilogue to King Aldfrith of Northumbria); on page 118, from Riddle 47 (this the only piece of verse).

Here is the introduction to the charter:

"Solet enim plerumque contingere, ut autumpnali torrido facessante caumate brumalia sævientium ventorum flabra reciprocis alternatim cursibus succedant, quibus procellosa pelagi cærula innormesque oceani gurgites hinc atque illinc quatiuntur, quatenus navigero tramite nullus absque discrimine navigans furibundo flamine carbasa rumpente transfretet, ita nimirum prostrata mundi pompulenta gloria iamque appropinquante eiusdem termino fluctuantes sæculi turbines incumbere evidenti experimento videntur, ut revera et ullo absque ancipiti scrupulo illa Domini præsagmina nostris tandem temporibus comprobentur impleri, quibus illa cælesti oraculo effatus est dicens 'Videte ficulneam et omnes arbores' et cetera. Porro inter has turbulentas sæculi tempestates scripturarum flectenda sunt gubernacula totiusque navigii armatura atque instrumenta paranda, quatenus garrulo Sirenarum carmine spreto ratis recto cursu ad portum patriæ prospere perducatur."

238, 5-6: tamen *plerumque* . . . *contingere solet*

288, 10: sub divo et *torrido* solis *caumate*

279, 2: in *torrido* solis *caumate*

501, 12-14: calescente cælitis *caumate* . . . earum auctore linquente
brumalia mansionum receptacula

480, 4-5: contra gelida brumarum *flabra*

490, 13: quemadmodum *alternatim reciproca facessante*

232, 14-15: Tumentes *oceani gurgites* ac *reciproca* spumantis *pelagi* frustra

A PUTATIVE CHARTER TO ALDHELM

- 489, 13-490, 1: *cærula trans ponti glauca inormesque dodrantium glareas*
 . . . *circili carina procellosum sulcante salum*
- 490, 11-12: *tam creber meatus est istinc illincque istuc illucque navigero*
æquoreas fretantium calle gurgites
- 490, 8-9: *tonitruali quodam boatu fragore nimbo emergenti auditus nostri*
quatiuntur
- 500, 17: *Nuper furibunda tempestatis perturbatio, sicut experimento didicistis*
- 305, 8-9: *pompulentam mundi gloriam*
- 201, 22: *appropinquante iam stili termino*
- 239, 9: *sine ancipiti ambiguitatis scrupulo*
- 492, 8: *scrupulo ancipiti*
- 261, 1-2: *cæleste beavit oraculum*
- 238, 17-21: *Dum illi periculoso sæculi naufragio et grassante diræ tempestatis*
turbine velut inter Scillam Sciliæ et barathrum¹ voraginis navigantes ad
portum cœnubialis vitæ festinantes, licet aliquantulum quassatis cymbæ
compagibus, Christo gubernante feliciter pervenerunt
- 320, 20-321, 2: *Rimosa namque fragilis ingenii barca diræ tempestatis turbine*
quassata, . . . optatum silentii portum sero attingit; . . . quod nos-
trarum carbasa antemnarum prosperis ventorum flaminibus sinuata,
quasi inter Scillam solœcismi et barbarismi barathrum¹ indisruptis
rudentibus feliciter transfretaverint; . . . sine grammaticorum guber-
naculo
- 118, 2: *Garrula mox crepitat rubicundum carmina guttur*

If now I add that all the words of the introduction are found in Aldhelm except *fluctuantes* (but *fluctus*, *fluctivagus*), *navigii*, *nimirum*, *paranda*, and *turbulentas*, it should be sufficiently clear that large elements of the vocabulary, and its general tone, are drawn from such of Aldhelm's writings as are later than 675, the ostensible date of the charter. At what time the introduction was composed it might be difficult to determine, but hardly, we may be sure, during Aldhelm's lifetime (d. 709).

¹ Cf. *Æneid* iii. 420-423:

"Dextrum Scylla latus, lævum implicata Charybdis
 Obsidet, atque imo *barathri* ter gurgite vastos
 Sorbet in abruptum fluctus, rursusque sub auras
 Eripit alternos, et sidera verberat unda."

Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* xii. 104-105.

DIE ALTENGLISCHEN VERZEICHNISSE VON GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN



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Die Kleinliteratur des altenglischen Volksglaubens verdient einen Platz in der menschlichen Kulturgeschichte wegen ihrer ausserordentlichen Reichhaltigkeit und Vielseitigkeit sowie wegen des hohen Alters ihrer Überlieferung.

Besonderer Beliebtheit hat sich unter den Angelsachsen die mittelalterlich-antike Tagwählerei erfreut. Man versteht darunter den aus heidnischen und christlichen, aus astrologischen und wahrsagerischen Elementen erwachsenen¹ Glauben, dass gewisse Tage der Woche, der Monate oder Jahre für gewisse Verrichtungen, wie Reisen, Kaufen, Pflanzen, Ernten, Aderlassen u. dgl. m. entweder glückverheissend oder aber unheilvoll und darum zu vermeiden seien.

Die glückbedeutenden Tage treten in der altenglischen Überlieferung stark in den Hintergrund. Ich vermag nur *ein* solches Verzeichnis zu nennen, wo es sich obendrein nur um den Tag der Geburt handelt. Starken Niederschlag hat dagegen der Glaube an die böse Vorbedeutung einzelner Tage für das menschliche Handeln gefunden. Vier solcher Texte sind in altenglischer Sprache des 11. Jahrhunderts auf uns gekommen, von denen zwei verschiedene Formulierungen derselben Latein-

¹ C. Meyer, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters* (Basel, 1884), S. 205–215; ed. Stemplinger, *Antiker Aberglaube in modernen Ausstrahlungen* (Leipzig, 1922), S. 113–117; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), S. 459 ff.; Fr. Boll u. W. Gundel, *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung* (Leipzig, 1926), S. 18, 96, 173–183, 184–187; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (London, 1923), I, 14, 21, 106, 158, 164, 179, 356, 383, 513, 582 f., 588, 590, 592, 661, 692–696, 721, 725, 727 f., 754, 756; II, 484, 856, 893; H. Webster, *Best Days* (London, 1916), S. 272–301.

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vorlage darstellen. Der erste Text giebt ein Verzeichnis von 24 Unglückstagen des Jahres—zwei in jedem Monate—, an denen man kein Unternehmen beginnen soll. Ein zweiter Text bietet die zwei Unglückstage in jedem Monat, an denen man Aderlass und Medizineinnehmen vermeiden muss. Der dritte und vierte Text bezeichnet die drei Montage im Jahre—im April, August und September—, an denen man weder zu Ader lassen noch Medizin einnehmen noch Gänsefleisch essen darf.

All diese Texte stellen keine spezifisch angelsächsischen Anschauungen dar, sondern sind abendländisch-mittelalterliches Gemeingut. Dies zeigt schon die Tatsache, dass sie alle sich auf lateinische Vorlagen zurückführen lassen. In zwei Fällen können wir auch weiterhin noch spätgriechische Quellen nachweisen, wodurch der internationale Charakter dieser Vorstellungen noch erhärtet wird. Wir hätten sonach auch hier wieder dieselbe Tatsache, wie ich sie glaube für die alphabetischen Traumbücher bewiesen zu haben,¹ dass ein spontan auftretendes psychisches Bedürfnis mit bereits fertig vorliegenden Mitteln befriedigt wird. Und in solchem Nachweis möchte ich den Hauptwert auch dieser Studie sehen.

I. GLÜCKLICHE NATIVITÄTSTAGE

Für glückverheissende Tage kenne ich nur eine Zusammenstellung im Altenglischen. Es handelt sich dabei um drei Tage im Jahre, an denen geboren zu sein dem Leibe Unverwesbarkeit verleiht. Dieser Text ist in zwei Handschriften uns überliefert: im Cotton MS Caligula A. XV, fol. 131a und in der aus Worcester stammenden Handschrift des Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 391, pag. 718, die beide gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts geschrieben sind. Der Text hat folgenden Wortlaut:²

¹ Das älteste kymrische Traumbuch in *Zeitschr. f. celt. Phil.*, XIII (1919), 55 ff., und Die altenglischen Traumunare in *Engl. Stud.*, LX (1925), 58 ff.

² Vergleiche über beide Handschriften meine Angaben, in *Engl. Stud.*, LX (1925), 74 ff.; zur Cambridger Handschrift auch Turner, *Early Worcester MSS* (Oxford, 1916), p. lviii. Der Caligula-Text ist gedruckt bei Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 154.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

- C¹ Ðreo dazas syndon on · XII · monðum mid
W² Ðry³ dazas synd on · XII · monðum mid
C þrim nihtum, on þam ne bið nan
W · III · nihtum, on ðam ne bið nan
- 5 C wif-mann akenned. *And* swa-hwylc
W wif acenned. *And* swa-hwylc
- C wæpned-mann on þam dazum
W wæpman swa on ðam dazum
- C akenned bið, ne for-rotað his lichama
10 W accenned bið, ne for-ealdeð his lichomo⁴
- C næfre on eorðan, ne he ne fulað ær
W næfre on eorðan, ær
- C domes-dæge. Nu is an þara daza
W domes-dæge. þæt is an þære daza
- 15 C on æfte-wyrdne *Decembre; and* þa twezen
W on æftewardan *Decembre; and* · II ·
- C on fore-weardan Ianuarie þam monðe.
W on fore-wardan Ianuarfi.
- C *And* feawe synd, þe þas ge-ryne cunnan
20 W Feawe men synd, þe þas cunan.
- C opþe witan.
W

Es handelt sich hier nicht um angelsächsisch-heidnische Anschauungen, sondern wohl um Antik-römisches. Jedenfalls ist unser altenglischer Text eine ziemlich wörtliche Übersetzung aus dem Lateinischen. Eine zum Altenglischen ziemlich genau stimmende Lateinfassung findet sich im Royal MS 12. C. XII, fol. 87a (im 15. Jahrhundert geschrieben) und mit abweichenden Zeitangaben auch in dem um 1040 geschriebenen Cotton

¹ C=Caligula A. XV.

² W=Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 391.

³ Die später eingefügte, bunte Initiale *D* ist eine Zeile zu hoch gesetzt an den Schlusatz des vorhergehenden Textes, eines Krankheitslunares.

⁴ Lies *lichoma*.

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MS Titus D. XXVI, fol. 3^b (ed. de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitæ of Hyde* [1892], S. 253). Das eben genannte Royal MS bietet unmittelbar vorher eine zweite Parallelfassung,¹ die nur vom Manne spricht und die Zeitangaben nach dem altrömischen Kalender giebt. Diese Fassung findet sich auch im Ashmole MS 1280, fol. 171^b (13. Jahrh.) und im Rawlinson MS C. 814, fol. 60a (um 1400) sowie gedruckt in dem pseudo-Bedaschen Schriftchen *De nativitate infantium* (bei Migne, *Patr. lat.*, XC, 960). An letzterer Stelle ist aber ein Schlusssatz angefügt, der so oder in ähnlicher Form dem altenglischen Übersetzer vorgelegen haben muss. Ich biete daher den Text im wesentlichen nach dem Royal MS, aber mit Anfügung des Schlusssatzes aus Pseudo-Beda.

Tres dies sunt in anno cum totidem noctibus, in quibus mulier nunquam generabitur. Et si vir in illis natus fuerit, corpus eius incorruptum sine putredine remanebit usque ad diem iudicii. Id est: novissimus dies Decembris et duo primi Ianuarii. Et suum mysterium mirabile est valde.

Tres dies sunt T(itus)] *Sunt et tres dies* R(oyal) || *in anno* fehlt R || *totidem* fehlt R || *noctibus, ut fertur,* T || *generabitur*] *nascitur* T || *si vir*] *vir,* qui T || *in ipsis* T || *eius*] *illius* T || *incorruptum s. p. remanebit*] *nunquam . . . putredine solvetur* T || *usque ad diem iudicii* T] fehlt R || *id est* T] fehlt R || *novissimus* bis *Ianuarii*] *novissimus de Thebet et duo primi Sabbath* T || *Et suum* bis *valde* Beda] fehlt RT.

II. DIE VIERUNDZWANZIG ÜNGLÜCKSTAGE DES JAHRES

Zwei Tage in jedem Monat, im ganzen Jahre also vierundzwanzig, sind zu keinerlei Unternehmung geeignet. Das sind nach unserem Angelsachsen: der 3. und 4. Januar, der 5. und 7. Februar, der 6. und 7. März, der 5. und 8. April, der 8. und 9. Mai, der 5. und 27. (nach anderer Handschrift 17.) Juni, der 3.

¹ Eine mittelenglische Version dieser Fassung scheint vorzuliegen in dem Ashmole MS 1438, fol. 50a: *In ye zere yer be thre days and thre nyghtes if a child be getyne* u.s.w. Sicher liegt diese Fassung zu Grunde in der deutschen *Pauren Practick* (1508), S. 6: *Es spricht Beda: drey tag vnd drey nächt seind, wirt dann ain kind geboren, des leib bleybet gantz biss an den jungsten tag*, was genau stimmt zu Royal 12. C. XII, fol. 87a: *Beda dixit, quod tres sunt dies et noctes, in quibus si vir genitus fuerit, sine dubio corpus eius integrum manebit usque diem iudicii.*

und 13. Juli, der 8. und 13. August, der 5. und 9. September, der 5. und 15. Oktober, der 7. und 9. November und der 3. und 13. (nach anderer Handschrift 12.) Dezember. Dieses Verzeichnis von Unglückstagen, das letzten Endes trotz aller Verschiedenheiten der einzelnen Tage auf die antiken *dies Aegyptiaci*¹ (zwei in jedem Monat) zurückgeht, ist uns in altenglischer Fassung in den beiden Cotton MSS Caligula A. XV, fol. 130a, sowie Vitellius E. XVIII, fol. 9b, überliefert und nach ersterer Handschrift in Cockayne's *Leechdoms* (London, 1866), III, 152¹-154⁷, und nach letzterer bei Hampson, *Medii Aevi Calendarium*, II, 76, veröffentlicht worden. Da die Vitellius-Handschrift, noch in die 1. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts fallend,² zweifellos älter ist als das gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts³ geschriebene Caligula-MS stelle ich, erstere bei meinem Abdruck voran. Ich drucke, wie überall, auch hier nach den Handschriften.

DE DIEBUS MALIS CUIUSQUE MENSIS⁴

V ⁵	[T]weizen dazas syndon on æghwylcum monðe, þæt
C ⁶	Syndon twezen dazas on æzwylcum monðe,
V	swa-hwæt-swa man on þæm dazum onzinneð,
C	swa-hwæt-swa on þam dazum onzynð,
5 V	ne wurð hit næfre zeendod. þæt is þonne:
C	ne wurð hit næfre zeendod.
V [1]	On Ian[ua]rius, ⁷ þonne se mona bið þreora nihta
C	On Ianuarius, ⁸ þonne se mona bið • III • nihta

¹ Vgl. die Literaturangaben weiter unten für 1. Fassung der "Drei Kritischen Montage." (No. IV.)

² K. Wildhagen, *Festgabe für F. Liebermann* (Halle, 1921), S. 69.

³ M. Förster, *Engl. Stud.*, LX (1925), 74 ff.

⁴ Die Überschrift nur in V.

⁵ V = Vit. E. XVIII, fol. 9b.

⁶ C = Cal. A. XV, fol. 130a.

⁷ *ua* durch Loch im Pergament zerstört.

⁸ In der Handschrift verschrieben als *idnudarias*.

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- V eald *and* feowra;
10 C eald *and* . IIII .
- V [2] *and* on Februarius, þonn(e) he bið fifa
C On Februarius, þonne he bið . V . nihta eald
- V *and* seofena eald;
C *and* . VII .
- 15 V [3] *and* on Martius þe¹ syxta *and*
C On Martius, þonne he bið . VI . nihta eald *and*
- V se seofeð(a);²
C . VII .
- V [4] on Aprilis se fifta
20 C On Aprelis, þonne he bið . V . nihta eald
- V *and* se eahteþa;
C *and* . VIII .
- V [5] *and* on Maius se eahteþa
C On Maius, þonne he bið . VIII . nihta eald
- 25 V *and* se nyze(þa);
C *and* . IX .
- V [6] on Iunius se . V . *and* se . XXVII .;
C On Iunius, þonne he bið . V . nihta eald *and* . XVII .;
- V [7] on Iulius se . III . *and* se . XIII .;
30 C On Iulius, þonne he bið . III . nihta eald *and* . XIII .;
- V [8] on Agustus se . VIII . *and* se . XIII .;
C On Agustus,³ þonne he bið . VIII . nihta eald *and* . XIII .;
- V [9] on September se . V . *and* se . IX .;
C On September, þonne he bið . V . nihta eald *and* . IX .;
- 35 V [10] on October se . V . *and* se . XV .;
C On October, þonne he bið . V . nihta eald *and* . XV .;

¹ Dies *þe* ist entweder Schreibfehler für *se* (wie sonst überall derselbe Kopist schreibt) oder das früheste Beispiel für das analogische Eindringen des *þ* in den Nominativ des bestimmten Artikels.

² Die nicht mehr sicher lesbaren Stellen habe ich in runde Klammern gesetzt.

³ Nur hier ist statt des insularen das fränkische *g* benutzt.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

- V [11] on November se . VII . and se . IX . ;
C On Nouember, þonne he bið .VII. nihta eald and .IX. ;
- V [12] on December se þridda and se preotteoða.
C On December, þonne he bið . III . nihta eald and . XII .
- V Buton ælcant tweon, swa hit bið zewislice;
C And swa hit bið;
- V zyme, se-þe wille.
C zyme, se-þe wylle.

Der vorstehende altenglische Text ist sicher aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, wenn ich zur Zeit auch keine einigermaßen zum Altenglischen stimmende Quelle nennen kann. Ähnliche lateinische Texte habe ich verzeichnet in dem *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CX (1903), 352. Auch altfranzösische, provenzalische, altisländische und altrussische Versionen lassen sich herbeiziehen.

Die Urform dürfte griechisch gewesen sein. Wenigstens hat Boissonade in den *Notices et Extraits des MSS de la bibliothèque du Roi*, XI, Teil 2, 187, Anm., drei Versionen aus einer Pariser Handschrift (f. gr. 2286) veröffentlicht, die ich hier folgen lasse.

[I]

Ἡμέραι σπσημειωμένοι τῶν ιβ' μηνῶν.
Μηνὸς Σεπτεμβρίου γ' καὶ δ', μηνὸς Ὀκτωβρίου γ' καὶ κα',
μηνὸς Νοεμβρίου ε' καὶ ια', μηνὸς Δεκεμβρίου γ' καὶ κδ',
μηνὸς Ἰαννουαρίου β' καὶ ιδ', μηνὸς Φεβρουαρίου καὶ καὶ κβ',
μηνὸς Μαρτίου δ' καὶ κ', μηνὸς Ἀπριλλίου γ' καὶ κ', μηνὸς
Μαίου ς' καὶ κ', μηνὸς Ἰουνίου γ' καὶ ιη', μηνὸς Ἰουλλίου ς' καὶ
κ', μηνὸς Αὐγούστου δ' καὶ ιε'.

[II]

Ἔτερος οὕτως ἔθετο τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας: Σεπτ. γ' καὶ κ',
Ὀκτ. γ' καὶ ια', Νοεμβρ. η' καὶ ιε', Δεκ. γ' καὶ ιδ', Ἰανν. β'
καὶ ιδ', Φεβρ. ζ' καὶ κ', Μαρτ. δ' καὶ ιζ', Ἀπρ. γ' καὶ ι',
Μαι. γ' καὶ κ', Ἰουν. γ' καὶ ιη', Ἰουλ. ζ' καὶ κ', Αὐγ. ς' καὶ ιε'.

¹ *Butan æ* ist schwer leserlich, weil halb überklebt.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

[III]

Ἔτερος δὲ πάλιν ταύτας οὕτω κατέστρωσε: Ἰανν. β' καὶ δ', Φεβρ. β' καὶ κς', Μαρτ. δ' καὶ κ', Ἀπρ. γ' καὶ κ', Μαίω ζ' καὶ κβ', Ἰουν. γ' καὶ ιβ', Ἰουλ. ς' καὶ κβ', Αὐγ. δ' καὶ ιε', Σεπτ. γ' καὶ ιδ', Ὀκτ. γ' καὶ κβ', Νοεμβρ. ε' καὶ ιβ', Δεκ. γ' καὶ κδ'.

Dies Verzeichnis von Unglückstagen hat sich lange in Gebrauch erhalten bis in das 17. Jahrhundert hinein. Wenigstens finden wir genau denselben Text in neuenglischer Erneuerung in dem anonymen Volksalmanach *The Book of Knowledge*, der 1658 erschienen ist. Der Text dort lautet nach dem Neudruck in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Ausg. 1900, S. 318) folgendermassen:

In the change of every moon be two Dayes, in the which what thing soever is begun, late or never, it shall come to no good end, and the dayes be full perillous for many things. In January, when the moon is three or four dayes old. In February, 5 or 7. In March, 6 or 7. In April, 5 or 8. May, 8 or 9. June, 5 or 15. July, 3 or 13. August, 8 or 13. September, 8 or 13. October, 5 or 12. November, 5 or 9. In December, 3 or 13.

III. VIERUNDZWANZIG KRITISCHE ADERLASSTAGE

Nahe verwandt mit dem vorstehenden ist ein zweiter altenglischer Text, welcher ebenfalls zwei Tage in jedem Monat herausstellt, diese aber speziell als schädlich für Aderlassen und Medizineinnehmen bezeichnet. Auch dieser Text ist uns in zwei Handschriften überliefert und zwar denselben wie bei dem ersten Text, nämlich Vitellius E. XVIII, fol. 13a (ca. 1040), und Caligula A. XV, fol. 130b (ca. 1090). Ersteres Manuscript, das stark durch den Brand der Cottonischen Bibliothek im Jahre 1731 gelitten hat, ist in unserem Texte so stark beschädigt, dass es nicht zur Grundlage gemacht werden konnte. Ich setze daher in diesem Falle den jüngeren Caligula-Text an die erste Stelle. Die kaum mehr lesbaren Stellen in Vitellius sind von mir wieder in runde Klammern gesetzt.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

- C¹ [I] Ða ealdan læces ȝe-setton on ledon-bocum,
V² þa ealdan læcas ȝesettan on ledenbocum,
- C þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre tweȝen dazas:
V þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æf(re) tweȝen dazas:
- 5 C þa syndon swiðe derizendlice³ ænizne
V þe syndon swiðe derizendlice ænizum menn
- C drenc to drincanne oþþe blod to lætenne, for-þam-þe
V drenc to drincanne oþþe blod to lætanne, forþamþe
- C an tid is on ælcum þara daza, ȝif man
10 V an tid is on ælcum þær(a) daza, ȝif man
- C ænize æddran ȝe-openað on þara tide, þæt
V ænize æddran ȝeopenað on þære tide, þæt
- C hit bið lif-least oððe langsum sar.
V hit bið lifle(ast) oððe langsum sar.
- 15 C þæs cunnede sum læce *and* let his horse
V þæs cunnade sum læce *and* let his horse
- C blod on þære tide, *and* hit læȝ sona dead.
V blod on þære tide, *and* hit læȝ sona dead.
- C [II] Nu syndon hit þas dazas, swa-swa hit her
20 V Nu syndon hit þas dazas, swa-swa hit her
- C onseȝð:
V onseȝð:
- C [1] Se forma dæg on Martio, þæt is on
V þæt is se forma dæg on Martio, on
- 25 C Hlydan-monðe *and* se feorða dæg ær his ende.
V Hlydan-monðe *and* se feorða dæg ær-þam-þe he en(dað?)
- C [2] On þam oðrum monðe, þe we Aprelis hatað,
V On þam oðrum monðe, þe we Aprilis hatað,

¹ C=Cal. A. XV, fol. 130b. Danach gedruckt bei Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 152-154.

² V=Vit. E. XVIII, fol. 13a.

³ Das erste *e* über der Zeile.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

- C se teoða dæg is derizendlic *and* se
 30 V s(e) teoþa dæg is (derizendlic?) *and* se
- C ændlyfte ær his ende.
 V endlyfta dæg ær his ut-Ʒanze.
- C [3] On Maius-monðe
 V On þam monðe, þe we Maius hatað,
- 35 C se þrida dæg is derizendlic *and* se sefoða
 V se þrida dæg is d(erizendlic) *and* se (se)ofeða
- C ær his ende.
 V ær his (ende).
- C [4] On Iunius-monðe se . X . dæg *and* ær his ende
 40 V On Iunius-monðe se teoða *and* ær his ende
- C se . XV .
 V se fiteoða.
- C [5] On Iulius-monðe se . XIII . dæg *and* ær his ende
 V On Iulius se þreotteoða *and* ær his ende
- 45 C se . X .
 V se teoða.
- C [6] On Agustus-monðe se . I . dæg *and* ær his ende
 V On Agustus se forma *and* ær his ende
- C se . II .
 50 V se oðer.
- C [7] On September-monðe se . III . dæg *and* ær his ende
 V On September se þrida *and* ær his ende
- C se . X .
 V se teoða.
- 55 C [8] On October-monðe se . III . dæg *and* ær his ende se . X .
 V [zeile fortgelassen]
- C [9] On Nouember-monðe se . V . dæg *and* ær his ende
 V On Nouember se fifta *and* ær his ende
- C se . III .
 60 V se þrida.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

- C [10] On *December*-monðe se · VII ·¹ dæg *and* ær his
V On December se twelfta *and* ær his
- C ende se · X ·
V ende se seofeðða.
- 65 C [11] On *Ianuarius*-monðe se · I · dæg *and* ær his ende
V On Ianuarius se forma *and* ær his ende
- C se · VII ·.
V se seofeðða
- C [12] On *Februarius*-monðe se · IIII · dæg *and* ær his ende
70 V On Februarius se feorða *and* ær his ende
- C se þridða.
V se þridða.
- C [III] We 3e-setton on fore-weardan þissere ende-byrdnesse
V (We) 3esetton on foreweardan on þyssere en(debyrdnesse?)
- 75 C þone monað Martius, þe menn hatað Hlyda,
V þone) monað Martius, þe menn hatað Hlyda,
- C for-þam he is annzinn æfter rihtan 3e-tele ealles
V [*unleserlich und fortgerissen*] rihtan zetele ealles
- C þæs 3eares; *and* se ælmihtiga 3od² on þam monðe
80 V þæs 3ear(es); [*unleserlich oder fortgerissen*]
- C 3esceop ealle 3e-sceafta.
V] ealle 3es(ceafta).
- C [IV] Nu eft be þam monan is mycclum to warnienne,
V [fol. 13b] [*abgerissen*]
- 85 C þæt man on · IIII · nihta ealdne monan oþþe on · V ·
V þæt man on (feo)wer nihta ealdne monan oððe on fif
- C nihta menn blod ne læte, swa us bec se 33að,
V nihta [*abgerissen*] blod ne læte, swa-swa us sec 3að bec,
- C ær-þam-þe se mona *and* seo sæ beon anræde.
90 V ær-þam-þe se mona *and* seo sæ [*abgerissen*]

¹ Die Vorlage las wohl · XII ·.

² *d* korrigiert aus *a*.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

- C [V] Ac we zehyrdon sez3on sumne þisne mann,
V [abgerissen] zehyrdon sec3an sumne mann,
- C þæt nan mann ne leofode, þe him blod lete
V þæt nan mann ne leofode (se him?) blod lete
- 95 C on ealra hal3ena mæsse-dæ3, oþþe 3if he 3e-wundod
V on ealra hal3ena mæsse-dæ3, oððe 3if he 3ewundod
- C wære. Nis þis nan wizlun3; ac wise menn hit
V (wære). [abger.] (na)n wilun3; ac wise menn hit
- C afunden þurh þone hal3an wisdom, swa heom 3od
100 V afundon þurh þone hal3an (wisdom?), swa-swa him
- C ælmihtiz 3e-dihte.
V dihte 3od.

Leicht lässt sich zeigen, dass dieser altenglische Text in seinem Hauptteile (II) aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt ist. Denn ein in allem Wesentlichen zum Altenglischen stimmender lateinischer Abschnitt ist enthalten in dem unter Bedas Namen laufenden Schriftchen *De minutione sanguinis sive de phlebotomia*, wie es als Anhang zu Bedas Werken abgedruckt ist bei J. A. Giles, *The Miscellaneous Works of Venerable Bede*, VI (1843), 349–352. Der 4. Abschnitt dieses Werkchens deckt sich mit unserem Texte, während der vorhergehende Abschnitt 3 sogar zwei verschiedene Übersetzungen ins Altenglische gefunden hat, die ich unter IV drucke, und der folgende Abschnitt 5 das weitverbreitete “Aderlasslunar” bietet, das ich nach drei anderen Handschriften in *Archiv für neuere Sprachen*, CXXIX, 36 f., veröffentlicht habe. Dass die Zahlen öfter nicht stimmen, wird den Kenner mittelalterlicher Kopistenfehler nicht weiter in Erstaunen setzen.

[1] Mense Ianuario intrante die primo et exeunte die septimo¹ . . . a phlebotomo et purgatione vel a qualibet incisione abstinendum est.

[2] Mense Februario intrante die octavo et exeunte die septimo. . . .

[3] Mense Martio intrante die tertio, exeunte die septimo. . . .

¹ Die jedesmal folgenden Angaben über bestimmte Mondphasen habe ich überall ausgelassen.

- [4] Mense Aprili intrante die decimo, exeunte die undecimo. . . .
- [5] Mense Maio intrante die quarto, exeunte die septimo. . . .
- [6] Mense Iunio intrante die octavo, exeunte die quinto. . . .
- [7] Mense Iulio intrante die decimoseptimo, exeunte decimo. . . .
- [8] Mense Augusto intrante die quinto, exeunte die decimoquinto. . . .
- [9] Mense Septembri intrante die nono, exeunte die nono. . . .
- [10] Mense Octobri intrante die nono, exeunte die decimo. . . .
- [11] Mense Novembri intrante die quinto, exeunte die sexto. . . .
- [12] Mense Decembri intrante die decimoquinto, exeunte die octavo.

. . . .

Praeterea in mense luna prima, quinta, nona et decimaquinta . . . observandae sunt.

IV. DREI KRITISCHE MONTAGE

An dritter Stelle biete ich einen Text, der dem vorhergehenden dadurch sehr nahe steht, dass auch hier vor Aderlass und Medizineinnehmen gewarnt wird; aber in diesem Falle ist auch noch das Verbot des Essens von Gänsefleisch hinzugekommen. Weiter handelt es sich hier nicht um 24 kritische Tage, sondern nur um drei; und zwar ist es in allen Fällen der zweite Tag der Woche. Also drei kritische Montage im Jahre sind hier warnend herausgehoben.

Die vier altenglischen Texte, die hier in Frage kommen, zerfallen deutlich in zwei Gruppen, die so völlig im Wortlaut von einander abweichen, dass es sich hier um zwei verschiedene Übersetzungen¹ derselben lateinischen Vorlage handeln muss.

Die erste altenglische Fassung ist enthalten in dem Rezeptbuche Harleian 585, fol. 190a-b (aus dem Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts) sowie im Cotton MS Vitellius C. VIII, fol. 20a-b (ebenfalls 11. Jahrhundert). Nach letzterem Manuscript ist sie gedruckt bei R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, II, 107, nach ersterem bei Cockayne, *Saxon Leechdoms*, III (1866), 76, und bei G. Leonhardi, *Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler* (=Bibliothek der angelsächs. Prosa, Band VI, 1905), S. 152 f. All diese Abdrücke sind nicht ganz fehlerfrei.

¹ Danach sind meine Angaben *Engl. Stud.*, LX (1925), 75 (Nr. 9) und 78 (Nr. 13) zu korrigieren.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

Die zweite altenglische Fassung findet sich in der schon zweimal genannten Psalterglosse Vitellius E. XVIII, fol. 13a (1. Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts), sowie in dem Sammelkodex Nr. 391 (p. 718) des Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, das gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts im Marienkloster zu Worcester geschrieben ist.¹ Keiner dieser Texte ist bisher gedruckt.

1. ERSTE FASSUNG

- H² [1] þry dazas syndon on zeare, þe we Egiptiaci⁴
V^{2 3} þry dazas syndon on zeare, þe we Egiptiace⁴
- H hatað, þæt is on ure zeþeode 'plihlice dazas,'
V² hatað, þæt is on ure zeðeode 'plihlice dazas,'
- 5 H on þam natoþæshwon for nanre neode ne mannes
V² on ðam nate-þæshwon for nanre neode ne mannes
- H ne neates blod sy to wanienne: þæt is þonne ut-
V² ne neates blod [*Hier ist in V² eine Zeile übersprungen.*]
- H 3an33endum þam monþe, þe we Aprelis
10 V² þæm monðe, þe we Aprilis
- H hatað, se nyhsta monandæ3 án;
V² hatað, se nyxta monandæ3 ; and
- H þonne is oþer in3an3endum þam monþe,
V² þonne is se oðer in3an3ende þe monð,⁵

¹ Vgl. über die Handschrift Turner, *Early Worcester Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1916), S. lviii, und M. Förster, *Engl. Stud.*, LX (1925), 77-79.

² H=Harleian 585, fol. 190a-b.

³ V²=Vit. C. VIII, fol. 20a-b.

⁴ Über die wirklichen altrömischen *Aegyptiaci dies* ist zu vergleichen die Literatur bei Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie, Suppl.*, III, 22, sowie J. Loiseleur, "Les jours égyptiens," *Mémoires de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, XXXIII (1872), 198-253, und Webster, *The Rest Days* (1916), S. 295 ff. Im englischen Mittelalter finden wir öfter wie oben eine Übertragung des Ausdrucks auf allemöglichen kritischen Tage. Daneben begegnen natürlich auch die echten *Aegyptiaci dies* im angelsächsischen Schrifttum, z. B. auf der vorletzten Seite des s. g. "Pontificale Egberti" (= Paris, B.N., fonds lat. 10575, fol. 187a). Was L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic* (London, 1923), I, 695 f., als *Egyptian Days in Early Medieval Manuscripts* zusammenstellt, ist ein buntes Gemisch der allerverschiedensten Texte, wie auch sonst dies reichhaltige Werk mehr in der Herbeischaffung von Material als in der Verarbeitung seine Stärke zeigt.

⁵ Ein frühes Beispiel für den Nominativus absolutus.

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- 15 H þe we Azustus hatað, se æresta monan-
V² þe we Azustus hatað, se æresta monan-
H -dæg; þonne is se þridða se æresta
V² dæg; þonne is se þridða *and* se æresta
H monandæg æfter utganze þæs [fol. 190b] monþes Decembris.
20 V² monandæg æfter utganze þæs monðes Decembris
H [II] Se-þe on þysum þrim dazum his blod
V² Se-ðe on þisum þrim dazum his blod
H zewanize, sy hit man, sy hit nyten,
V² zewanað, sy hit man, sy hit nyten,
25 H þæs-þe we seczan zehyrdan, þæt sona on
V² þæs-ðe we seczan hyrdon, þæt sona on
H þam forman dæge oþþe þam feorþan
V² ðam forman dæge oððe on ðam feorðan
H dæge his lif zeændað, oþþe zif his
30 V² his lif he ze-endoð,¹ oþþe zif his
H lif lænzre bið, þæt he² to þam seofþan
V² lif lenzre bið, [fol. 22b] þæt he to ðam sefoðan
H dæge ne becymð. Oððe zif he hwilcne
V² dæge ne becymð. Oððe zif he hwylcne
35 H drænc drincð þam þrim dazum, his lif
V² drenc drincð þam þrim dazum, his lif
H he ze-ændað binnan · XV · dazum. Zif hwa
V² he ze-endað [*V lässt hier abermals eine Zeile*
H on þis<um> dazum acænned bið, yfelum
40 V² *aus.*]
H deaðe he his lif zeændað. *And* se-þe on
V² *And* se-ðe on
H þys<um> ylcum þrim dazum zoseflæsces³
V² þys<um> ylcum þrym dazum zoseflæsces

¹ Lies *zeendað*.

² Dies *he* ist irrtümlicherweise bei Leonhardi ausgelassen.

³ So in beiden Handschriften als ein Wort zusammengeschrieben. Ich glaube, man sollte ein Kompositum *goseflæsc* 'Gänsefleisch' ins Wörterbuch setzen.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

- 45 H onbyrizeð, binnan feowortiges daza fyrste
 V² onbyr3ð, binnan feowertiges daza fyrste
- H he his lif 3eāndað.
 V² his lif he 3e-endað.

2. ZWEITE FASSUNG

- W [I]¹ Dry dazas synd on · XII · monðum, þa
 V² Sindon þry dazas on twelf monðum, þa
- W synd swiðe unhalwende³ monnum oððe nytenum
 V syndon swiðe unhalwende³ men oððe nytenum
- 5 W blod on to for-lætene oððe drenc to drincane:
 V blod to forlætenne oððe drenc to drincanne:
- W þæt is se æfte-mæste monandæ3 on Aprilis,
 V þæt is se æfte-mesta monan-dæi3 on Aprilis,
- W ær he 3anze of tune;⁴ and se forma
 10 V ær he 3anze of tune;⁴ and se forma
- W monandæ3 on Agustus-monað; and se
 V mon(andæ3 on A)3ustus-monðe; and se
- W æfte-mæste monandæ3 on December-monað,
 V æftemesta monandæ3 on Decembres-monðe,
- 15 W ær he 3anze of tune.⁴
 V ær he 3anze of tune.⁴

¹ W=Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, MS 391.

² V=Vit. E. XVIII.

³ Das (bei Bosworth-Toller nachzutragende) Adjektiv *unhālwende* hat hier die sekundäre Bedeutung 'nicht förderlich, ungesund,' während es im *Regius-Psalter* (ed. Roeder, S. 289¹⁵) lat. *insanabilis* glossierend noch 'unheilbar' heisst.

⁴ Ae. *tūn* ist hier im prägnanten Sinne für 'unser Wohnsitz' gebraucht; und so bedeutet *ær he gange of tune* soviel wie 'bevor er [der April] von uns geht,' d.h. 'bevor er zu Ende geht' (etwa = lat. *Aprili exeunte*), wie es auch bei Lazamon heisst *Averil eode of tune* (v. 2496) und im *Gawain* 1049 *er þe halidayes holly were halet out of toun*. Ähnlich verwendet man im Alt-, Mittel-, und Neuenglischen *to come* (oder *go*) *to town* für 'ankommen': ae. *se kalend us cymeð . . . on þæm ylcan dæge us to tune*, *Menol.* 8; *lengten-tima gæð to tune on .VII. id. Febr.* Byrhtferth, *Anglia*, VIII, 312. Oder: *ær sumor on tun ga* 'bevor der Sommer kommt' (*Leechdoms*, III, 1). Auch im Altnordischen sagt man: *liþr vetr ór garþi* 'der Winter geht zu Ende,' wozu *Beowulf* 1113 *ōþer cōm gēar in geardas* 'ein anderes Jahr kam herbei' (*Anglia*, LII, 81 f.; Bosworth-Toller 1019).

- W [II] Se-ðe on ðam · III · monan-dazum mon
 (Se-ðe on ðam) þrim monandazum mannum
- W o(ððe) nytene blod forlæteð, on þone ðridan
 20 V oððe (nytene) blod forlæteð ær feowerteoðan
- W dæz he sceal sweltan, oððe he ne zebeðeð¹
 V dæze he sceal swyltan, oððe (he ne ze)bideð
- W þæs seofðan dæzes. And zif he drinc
 V þæs seofeðan dæzes. And zif he drenc
- 25 W drinceð to læce-crefte, ær · XV · dazan
 V drincð to læcecraefte, (ær fifte)ne dazan
- W he sceal sweltan. And zif hwylc man
 V he sceal swyltan. And zif hwilc man
- W acenned bið on þisum · III · dazum,
 30 V ace(nned² byð on þysum) þrim dazum,
- W he sceal sweltan yfele deaðe. And se-ðe
 V he sceal swyltan yfelan deaðe. And seðe
- W et zose-flæsc on þisson · III · dazan,
 V et(eð³ flæsc) on þysum þrim dazum,
- 35 W ær · XL · dæze
 V he sceal swyltan ær feowertuzum daz(um).
- W he sceal sweltan.
 V

Die vorstehenden zwei altenglischen Fassungen gehen offenbar auf eine gemeinsame lateinische Quelle zurück. Lateintexte, die inhaltlich hiermit übereinstimmen, finden sich un-
 gemein häufig in den Handschriften. Dem Wortlaut nach
 stimmt wohl am besten ein Text, der sich als Abschnitt 3 in dem
 obengenannten pseudo-Bedaschen Büchlein *De minutione
 sanguinis sive de phlebotomia* (ed. Giles, VI, 350) findet, womit
 fast ganz übereinstimmt der Text in dem um 1050 geschrie-
 benen Cotton MS Titus D. XXVI, fol. 3b (ed. de Gray Birch,

¹ Lies *gebideð*.² *nneð* ist abgerissen.³ *eð* ist fortgerissen.

Liber Vitae [1892], S. 252 f.). Indes scheint hier im ersten Satze nicht alles in Ordnung zu sein: ich korrigiere daher den Text nach einer sonst weiter abstehenden Bodleianischen Handschrift Rawlinson C. 814, fol. 60a, die erst um 1400 geschrieben sein dürfte, aber einen klareren Text bietet. Es leitet mich dabei nicht so sehr der Gesichtspunkt, die Urform des lateinischen Textes herzustellen, als denselben in der ungefähren Gestalt zu bieten, wie sie den beiden angelsächsischen Übersetzern vorgelegen haben mag.

[I] Tres sunt dies Ægyptiaci, in quibus nullo modo nec per ullam necessitatem licet homini vel pecori sanguinem minuere nec potionem impendere: id est prima die lune octavo Idus Aprilis, secunda die lune intrante Augusto et tertius dies lune exeunte Decembri, quia omnes venae tunc plenae sunt.

[II] Qui in istis tribus diebus hominem aut pecus inciderit, aut statim aut in ipso die vel in tertio morietur aut ad septimum diem non perveniet. Et si potionem quis acceperit, ante XV. dies morietur. Et si masculus aut femina in his diebus nati fuerint, mala morte morientur. Et si quis de auca in ipsis diebus manducaverit, ante XL dies morietur.

I. *Tres* R (awlinson)] *plures* B (eda), fehlt T (itus), || *Ægyptiaci* fehlt R || *nullo modo* (*nullius modi* T) *nec*] fehlt R || *per ull. nec.*] *nulla necessitatis occasione* R || *nec* (*vel* R) *pot. impendere* (*accipere* R)] fehlt T || *id est*] *videlicet* R, *isti tres dies per omnia cavende sunt; id est* T, *sed ex his tribus maxime observandi* B || *prima d. l. post VIII Aprilis* R, *octavo Idus* (kl. T) *April, illo die* TB || *sec. d. l. intr. Aug.* R] *intrante Augusto illa dies lune* (*illo die lunis* B) *similiter* (fehlt B) TB || *et tert. d. l. ex. Dec.* R] *exeunte Decembrio* (*Decembri* B) TB || *illa dies lune* (*illo die lunis* B) *cum multa diligentia observande sunt* (*observandum est* B) TB.

II. *Qui autem* R || *in* fehlt T || *istis*] *his* R || *tribus* fehlt BR || *hominem aut pec. inciderit*] *incisus fuerit homo vel animal* R || *aut* fehlt TR || *statim* fehlt R || *in ipso die vel* B] fehlt TR || *moriturus erit* T || *ad* fehlt T || *statim* bis *perveniet*] *infra VII dies aut certe infra XIII morietur* R || *quis* fehlt TR || *ante XV dies* RT] *quindecimo die* B || *moritur* T || *aut T, vel* R, *sive* B || *femina*] *mulier* B || *in* fehlt T || *in his diebus* fehlt R || *natus fuerit* R || *mala m.*] *absque dubio mal. morte* R || *quis* fehlt T || *in ipsis diebus* fehlt R || *ante XL dies* R, *ante XV dies* T, *quindecimo die* B.

Endlich mag darauf hingewiesen sein, dass der Text wahrscheinlich auch nicht aus römischem Boden stammt, sondern in

Byzanz erwachsen ist.¹ Dafür spricht eine spätgriechische Fassung, die A. Olivieri (*Catalogus astrologorum Graecorum*, IV, 118 f.) einer Modenaer Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts entnommen hat. Eine leicht abweichende Fassung druckte aus einer Pariser Handschrift Boissonade in *Notices et Extraits*, XI, Teil 2, 187, Anm. Die erste Fassung lasse ich hier zum Vergleich folgen.

Πέρσου φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀστρολόγου τοῦνομα
Ζατανῇ· ἐπίσκεψις ἡ παροῦσα παρατηρήσιμος.

Δεῖ σε γινώσκειν ὅτι εἰ τύχῃ εἰκοστῇ τοῦ αὐγούστου
μηνὸς ἢ τοῦ δεκεμβρίου ἢ τοῦ ἀπριλίου ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δευτέρᾳ
5 ἐβδομάδος, ὀφείλει ἀπέχεσθαι πάσης φλεβοτομίας καὶ καθάρ-
σεως καὶ ἐτέρας ἰατρείας καὶ βοηθήματος.

Ἄλλο γὰρ φλεβοτομῶν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἢ ἐτοίμως
ἀποθνήσκει ἢ ᾿ ἡμέραν οὐ φθάνει· καὶ ὁ βοηθήματος
λαμβάνων οἰονδήποτε ἔσωθεν τῶν ἐν ἡμέραις ἀποθνήσκει·
10 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κρέας ἐσθίων ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις πρὸ
κ᾿ ἡμερῶν ἀποθνήσκει· εἰ δὲ παιδίον γενήσεται ἐν ταύταις
ταῖς ἡμέραις, βιοθάνατον ἔσται καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιον.

Auch dieser Text hat ein langes Nachleben gefunden bis in die Neuzeit. So haben wir z. B. einen mitttelenglischen Text, der einigermassen zum Altenglischen stimmt, in dem Ashmole MS 342, fol. 136b, das im 15. Jahrhundert geschrieben ist. Es handelt sich dabei natürlich nicht um eine Erneuerung des altenglischen Textes, sondern um eine Neuübersetzung aus dem Lateinischen oder auch Französischen. Der Text lautet folgendermassen:

These ben · III · perlous monedayes in þe zere: on ys þe fyrst monday of Feuerere; and oþer is þe last monday of May; and þe þryde ys þe last monday of Septembre.

þe maliche of hem is þer, os [*lies as*] clerkis sayn, þat what chyld ys born or getyn on any of þe · III · dayes, he schall be brende or drenchyd, or be do to schendful deth; or elles he schall dye sodenly hym-self. And 3yf yt be a

¹ Doch vergleiche dazu Heisenberg, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIII (1904), 233, und meine Gegenbemerkung im *Arch. f. neuere Sprachen*, CXX (1908), 213, Anm. 1.

GLÜCKS- UND UNGLÜCKSTAGEN

mayd-chyld, sche schall become a commen woman or elle a strumpet *and* þer-to have euel endyng, but hit be þe more wonder. *And* 3yf any man or woman ete eny gose-flesch in any of þe ·III· dayes, he schall have þe fallyng evelle. *And* no worke schall come to good ende, þat ys be-gunne in any of þe ·III· dayes.

Von den drei kritischen Montagen weiss man noch etwas in der englischen Spätrenaissance. Der grosse Kanzler der Königin Elizabeth, Lord Burghley, soll seinem Sohne ein Büchlein¹ mit Weisheitslehren hinterlassen haben, in dem (nach Brand, S. 319) zu lesen steht:

Though I thinke no day amisse to undertake any good enterprize or businesse in hande, yet have I observed some, and no meane clerks, very cautionaire to forbear these three Mundayes in the yeare, which I leave to thine owne consideration, either to use or refuse; viz. 1. The first Munday in April, which Day Caine was born, and his brother Abel slaine. 2. The second Munday in August, which day Sodome and Gomorrha were destroyed. 3. The last Munday in December, which Day Judas was born, that betrayed our Saviour Christ.

Der Renaissance-Mensch unterscheidet sich aber psychisch vom mittelalterlichen: er nimmt jene kritischen Tage nicht mehr gläubig aus der Tradition hin, sondern bedarf einer verstandesmässigen Begründung, die hier aus biblischen Vorgängen geholt ist.

¹ *Precepts or Directions for the well Ordering and Carriage of a Man's Life, left by William, Lord Burghley, to his Sonne, at his Death* (London, 1636).

ANGLO-NORMAN SCRIPT AND THE SCRIPT OF TWELFTH-CENTURY MSS IN NORTH- WESTERN NORWAY

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In an article published some years ago I traced somewhat in detail the development of the Insular and the Carolingian script in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and I made a similar analysis of the earliest East Norwegian fragments with a view to determining the form of script borrowed and the date of borrowing.¹ I shall summarize some of the conclusions. The general aspect of the Norwegian script as well as many special characteristics point to the first quarter of the twelfth century as the time when the so-called Anglo-Saxon script was introduced into Eastern Norway; and Northern England was the most likely region whence to have acquired the native English script in this form at that time. But the further conclusion also forced itself upon me that it was a highly composite script that was thus taken over, not an Insular script, with its flat *g* and its deep *ſ*; it was a script that was already more Carolingian than Insular in character; its general aspect, its paleographic technique, and its system of abbreviations were Carolingian, but many of its letters were of the Anglo-Saxon or Insular form. I suggested that this script be designated Anglo-Norman, as distinguished from Anglo-Saxon, on the one hand, and the Latin minuscule, on the other (Latin, Anglo-Carolingian, or Anglo-French). In another article I made a similar study of the

¹ "On the Earliest History of the Latin Script in Eastern Norway," in *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, II (1914-15), 92-106. There is a plate showing the differences between Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and East Norwegian scripts.

ANGLO-NORMAN AND NORWEGIAN SCRIPT

chancery hand in England and the MSS with related script in Norway.¹ It was shown that all the earliest Norwegian MSS exhibit the characteristics of this script in greater or less degree; in most of them it is strikingly prominent. It is a script that hovers in varying degree on the borderland between the hand of books and that of the chanceries; and it seemed to me that it was prevailing one that tended toward the book-hand in the squarer form of its letters; it was, in the main, the hand of private documents.²

In the following pages I shall consider additional features of English and Norse script, especially that of the twelfth century of Northwestern Norway, with a view to supplementing the history of the relationship. I shall first discuss the letters *a*, *æ*, and *e* in English script. I shall then gather together the characteristic features of the charter hand and of Anglo-Norman script. There will follow an analysis of the Norse fragments in question. We shall then be in a position to draw our conclusions with regard to the form of script borrowed in Northwestern Norway and the date of borrowing.

Originally the letter *æ* was written by joining to the upper right side of *a* the loop of an *e*; in some hands the *æ* is a combination of *a* and *e*, the right side is a perfect *e*, the main stave of the *e* coinciding with the upright of the *a*. Now, as the script used in the vernacular was the Insular, where the *a* was pointed (made in two strokes and having a pointed top), and did not have the form "a," as in the Latin minuscule, the earliest *æ* assumed the shape as in Figure 2 (Plate I). The *e* was the usual low round *e*, but in the Roman cursive of the charters a high (but round) *e* was commonly used, and through this influence the *æ* of the Insular often assumes a form as in our Figure 4.

¹ "Studies in Scandinavian Paleography. I-II," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XIV (1915), 530-543. (Misprint there, p. 532, l. 11: "1050" should be "950.")

² MSS from all parts of Norway were considered.

This is characteristic of Alfredian MSS, and those of the whole of the tenth century, and is seen even somewhat into the eleventh century. Compare MS Hatton 20, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*;¹ the Corpus Christi College MS 173 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*;² MS Junius 11, *Exodus*;³ and the *Codex Vercellensis*.⁴ The high *e* and the *e* of the *æ* is round (-shouldered) as was the low *e* at first. But the *e* of the *æ* early becomes squarish and flattened (and high-shouldered; Fig. 5); see, e.g., the Exeter Book, *Anglo-Saxon Poems*, date 950.⁵ Finally in MS Cotton Tiberius B I, the *AS Chronicle*, date 1045,⁶ the *æ* and the *e* are everywhere low; the high *e* has disappeared.⁷ But the high-shouldered low *e* (Fig. 8) continues to be a feature of the Insular to the end. Observe that the high-shouldered *e* originates from the *e*-part of the *æ*, with its squarish shoulder. As far as Old Norse MSS are concerned, there is nowhere evidenced any knowledge of the high *e*; but the high-shouldered low *e* is often met with in some of the earliest MSS, and in later ones.

As far as its technique is concerned the *æ* is written in three strokes, the third being the right bi-stave (that is, the loop of the *e*), which is written from above down and concludes in a hair-line written to the right. But it is apparent that the *æ* may also be made in two strokes, as, e.g., in the word *æfre* (facsimile of *Beowulf*, Pal. Soc. [1st ser.], Plate 54); in this case the loop at the right is written as a continuation of the lower part of the

¹ Skeat, *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1892), Plate I.

² Facsimile of one hand, year 891, in Thompson's *Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography*, Facsimile 145, and of another hand, Facsimile 149, date 1001.

³ Skeat, *op. cit.*, Plate II; dated variously "end of the 10th century" (Skeat and Keller) and "early in the 11th century" (editors of the *Palaeographic Atlas*).

⁴ Richard Wülker, *Codex Vercellensis. Die angelsächsische Handschrift zu Vercelli in getreuer Nachbildung* (Leipzig, 1894).

⁵ Thompson, *op. cit.*, Facsimile 146.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Facsimile 151.

⁷ Keller (*Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, I, 36-38) summarizes the history of the high *e* in Old English.

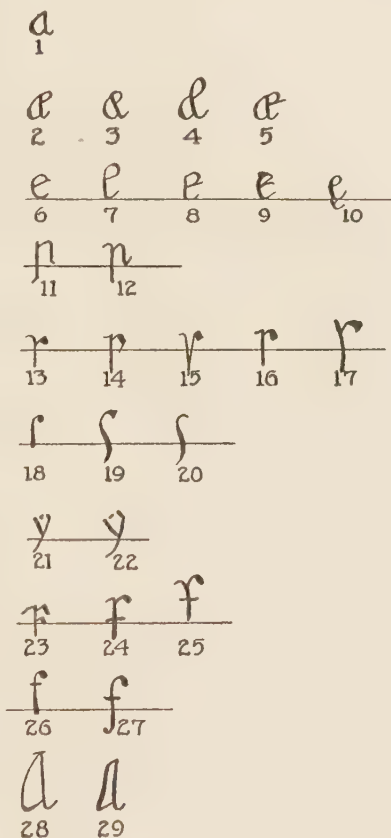
bi-stave of the *a*. As regards the twelfth-century round *e*, the starting-point of the loop is often seen as a hook at the upper left of the *e* (Fig. 9), in which case the letter may often assume a shape somewhat like the high-shouldered *e*.

I shall now consider briefly two early twelfth-century MSS: the Laud MS 636 of the *Chronicle*, date 1121, and the *Textus Roffensis* (English laws),¹ of the same quarter-century. The former is an exceedingly interesting compromise between the Insular and the Carolingian. The letters are for the most part the native, as the deep *r* and *s* (Figs. 11-12 and 13-17), the *p*, the flat *g*, the pointed *a*, etc.; the Insular *f* is present in a form that shows the influence of the *f* of the foreign script; further by the side of the deep *s* is seen also the tall *f* of Latin script; the *e* is the Carolingian. In its general appearance the writing is rather closer to the Insular than to the Carolingian; and we shall note in this

connection especially the sharply pointed *a*, with the corresponding *æ*; further, the pointed bi-stave of the *b*, the deep *r*, and the shape of the *y* (Fig. 21). The main stave of the *æ* is but slightly bent back, and is often upright (as in "a").

PLATE I

ENGLISH LETTER FORMS, 900-1125



¹ Pal Soc. (2d ser.), Vol. I, Plate 73.

It is interesting to see how, at about 1100 and a little later, when the native script of vernacular writings is being transformed in this way, the same process that may be observed going on about the middle of the tenth century is repeating itself, when the native hand, before used in books, gradually gave up this position in favor of the foreign hand (the Carolingian reform); see, e.g., the Facsimile 171 (Lambeth Library, MS 200) in Thompson's *Introduction*, and discussion (p. 430). I shall note a difference, however, namely, in the writing of the AS deep *r*. Our MS retains that in the traditional form (Fig. 12); thus it is clearly differentiated from the deep *s* (the body of which is a perfect Carolingian *r*). The *Textus Roffensis* also uses the *n*-like *r*, but the tall *f* has a form that seems to show the influence of the AS *ƿ*. However, in the Lambeth MS the *r* is the Carolingian *r*, written deep, while that of Norman script is more elongated. This form is commonly seen also in the English vernacular book-hand from about 1100.

In the *Textus Roffensis* we have passed a bit farther away from the native script. The pointed *a* has disappeared (the bi-stave of the *a* begins slightly below the top of the main stave); there are mixed forms of some of the letters, the AS letters being kept in the main; the *æ* with leftward-bent main stave is seen everywhere. This is virtually the charter hand. It is to be particularly noted that the *f* and the *ſ* are written so that the line of writing cuts across their middle (see Figs. 24, 27, 19, and 20). The two letters are a compromise between the old Insular *ƿ* and deep *ſ* and the new foreign high *f* and *ſ*. I note here that we find this mixed form of *f* and *ſ* in Northwest and Northeast Norwegian script from about 1200.¹

The features most characteristic of the Norman charter hand are: the lengthening of the main strokes; the use of tall minus-

¹ See also Hægstad, *Vestnorsk Maalføre fyre 1350*, Innledning, p. 8. However, when Hægstad says the forms are *ƿ* and *f* in *AM 315 e*, that is not quite exact. The usual types are *ƿ* and *f*; the Carolingian *f* is but rarely seen.

cules for capitals, especially *a* and *e*; and the somewhat longish capitals, the *D*, *O*, *M*, *P* often being pointed at the top. Further the *f* and the *ſ* are cut across the middle by the line of writing; there is the short *r* and the deep *r*, and often the intermediate form, but the top of the deep *r* has taken the shape of the low *r*; the *d*-forms *d* and *ð* are both used; the capital *A* of the form, as in Figures 28–29, is often seen; the small *a* shows a form with slightly overlapping main stave (so everywhere in the *Grant of William*, date 1087),¹ but in early twelfth-century charters also often a form in which the left bi-stave is written from the top of the upright, in which case it resembles the Insular pointed *a*. The capital pointed *A* (which has no cross-bar) is to be regarded as this small pointed *a* enlarged for a capital; both with and without the spur at the upper left they are alike. For examples of charters see Thompson's *Introduction*, Facsimiles 224, 225, 226, and 227.

I shall now turn to the Northwest Norwegian fragments; these are: *GKS 1347*, 4to; *AM 315 f*; *RA 1B*; and *AM 619*, 4to.²

GKS 1347 consists of a one-page tax list; its date is *ca.* 1175. Charter-hand features are seen especially in the shape of the capitals and in the use sometimes of the enlarged *a* for a capital. The *a* has the form "a" but the capital *A* is tall *a* of the shape of the Insular pointed *a* (see Plate II); the *e* is the Carolingian. The letters *þ* and *þ* are used while *ð* does not appear; there is the lengthened Norman *r*; the *ſ* is of mixed form, but is written low in the line. The tall pointed *A* with or without the spur, and without a cross-bar, is regularly used at the beginning of a line, but we find here and there within the line an enlarged *a*, as also

¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, Facsimile 224.

² Of *AM 315* and *AM 619* I have a complete phototypic copy (University of Illinois Scandinavian Collection); of *GKS 1347* there is a facsimile in *Palæografisk Atlas. Oldnorsk-Islandsk Afdeling* (1905), Plate 11. Of fragment *RA 1B* there is a facsimile in *Norges gamle Love*, Vol. IV, Plates XIII–XV.

the enlarged *e* for capital *E*; the *æ* has the main stave in the same position as in *a*; the *e*-part of it is a loop without a hair-stroke. The pointed capitals are seen in the *A*, the *D*, and the *O*. Thus we have here the Norman charter hand, which employs the *ʋ* and the *ƿ* of Anglo-Norman script. The absence of *ð* is to be noted; *þ* is used for both the voiceless and the voiced dental spirant.

I shall next take *AM*, 315*f* (date 1175–1200). The letters *ʋ*, *þ*, and *ð* appear, and *d* has everywhere the form *ð*; the *r* has the forms *r* and *ʀ*; the mixed *f* and *ʃ*-forms do not occur (only *ƿ* and *ʃ*). The capital *E* is of unusual form (see Plate II); the first two capital *E*'s are apparently a mixture of *E* and the enlarged *e*; the small *a* has the main stroke overlapping as the first two on Plate II; the *æ* is as above; the high-shouldered *e* is not found. We have here the Anglo-Norman hand showing the influence of the style of the chanceries.

RA 1B: The letters *ʋ*, *þ*, and *ð* are used; the letter *d* always has the form *ð* in XIII, but both *d* and *ð* in XIV and XV; *r* has everywhere the form *r*; there is the tall *ʃ*, but of *f* both the AS *ƿ* and the form *f*; the *a* shows the form "a"; the *e* is usually round but the main stave is also sometimes straight and bent back; *æ* does not appear, but instead *ē*. Characteristic of this fragment is the *e* written large for a capital, and the backward-bent position of the small *e* (see Plate II). The small *a* is now and then somewhat enlarged; spurs and hair-lines at the top of tall staves are much used; the pointed *M* and *O* may be mentioned. The script is somewhat set as in the private charters; observe also the regular use of the *ē* (taken from the charter script)¹ and the absence of *æ*. It would seem that this fragment must also be dated in the period 1175–1200.

AM 619. Written in three hands (date *ca.* 1200). Hand I is a beautiful example of the charter style, here employed for literary purposes. I shall note here that the letters *ʋ*, *þ*, and *ð* are

¹ And from Latin book script, where it is also used.

used, but not \mathfrak{p} ; the \mathfrak{s} has the forms \mathfrak{f} , \mathfrak{j} , and \mathfrak{f} ; the lengthened Norman \mathfrak{r} is seen and one that is intermediate between this and the regular \mathfrak{r} . There is further the form \mathfrak{z} . It may be especially noted that the \mathfrak{a} has the form as in Figure 2 of Plate I, while the corresponding pointed \mathfrak{a} is used in abbreviations and sometimes elsewhere. The last feature is also seen in Hands II and III; examples as *sagðe*, 46b, line 12fb, and *var*, 48b, line 3fb, and \mathfrak{a} as letter abbreviation, page 15, r, lines 2 and 11 fb. Hand III is also a charter hand with letters as above, but has not the tall strokes of I, nor the enlarged \mathfrak{a} . Hand II is more set and squarish; it has the same composite lettering as I and III; in the form of the letters II stands rather close to Hand III. The script of *AM 619* is a little later than the last two considered above, and is to be dated *ca.* 1200 or early in the thirteenth century.¹

We cannot avoid the conclusion that the earliest Latin script of Northwestern Norway, so far as we have evidence in preserved MSS, was the Anglo-Norman charter hand, with the letters \mathfrak{a} , \mathfrak{b} , and \mathfrak{p} , taken over from the Anglo-Norman literary script, from which at some time in the course of the twelfth century $\mathfrak{ð}$ was also borrowed. It was perhaps mainly the somewhat set hand of private charters that was used, but the preserved fragments contain one beautiful example of the official court hand, with the characteristic exaggerated long strokes. Nearest the literary hand is that of *AM 315 f*. Into this composite script was also introduced the letter \mathfrak{b} , but this was elsewhere in Western Norway taken over from the (West Norwegian) runic alphabet, as I have shown elsewhere.² It is likely that Northwest Norwegian script also took its \mathfrak{b} first from the native runic alphabet; there are some things that point to this.³ However,

¹ As usually dated. See Noreen, *Altnordische Grammatik* (ed. 1923), I, 22.

² *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. XVI, in an article, "Studies in Scandinavian Paleography, III," pp. 416-436, where \mathfrak{b} and \mathfrak{p} in Southwest Norwegian script are discussed (pp. 423-425).

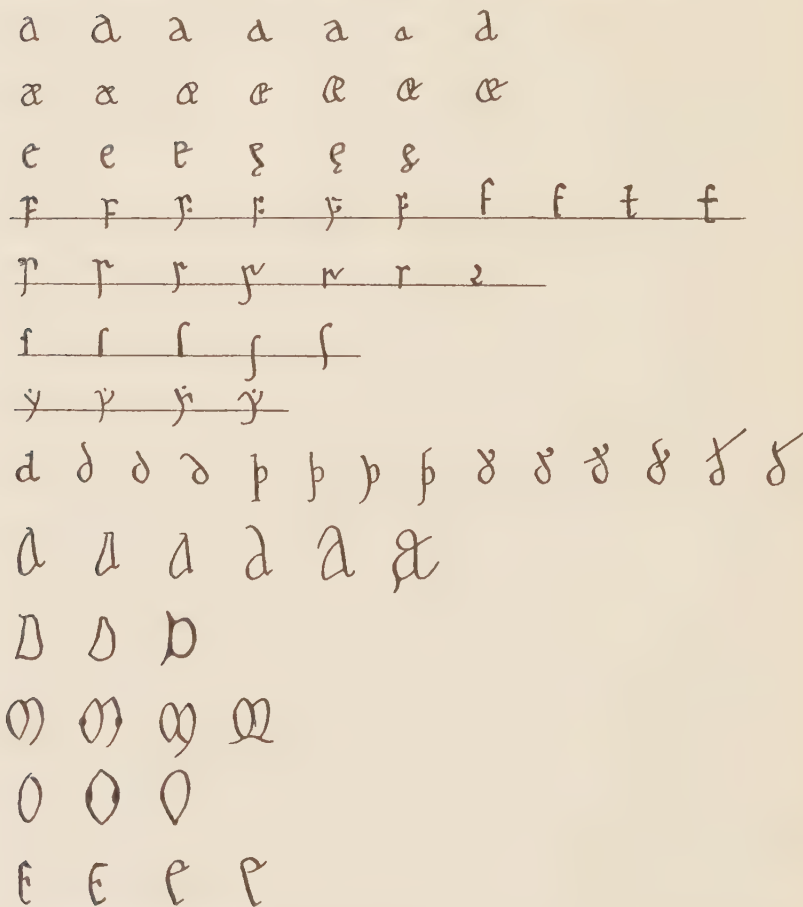
³ Also, the absence of $\mathfrak{ð}$ in *GKS 1347* finds its explanation in this way.

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the form of the *þ* in the Northwest Norwegian fragments is pre-
vailingly the East Norwegian-English form;¹ hence, if taken

PLATE II

FORMS FROM XIITH CENTURY NORTHWEST NORWEGIAN SCRIPT



over originally from the native runes, it later assumed the East
Norwegian form.² The deep *r* and *þ* of the Norman and North-

¹ In the article referred to (pp. 416-423) I have shown that the *þ* of East Norwegian script was borrowed from Anglo-Saxon script (i.e., is the AS rune *þ*).

² This influence has been shown by Hægstad (*loc. cit.*).

west Norwegian script is significant, as also is the absence of both the flattened *g* and the deep AS *s*. The Norwegian scribes knew both these letters,¹ but they did not adopt them when they adopted *ƿ* and *ʝ* because they did not need them. And so far as the deep *s* was concerned, its identity with the lengthened *r* of the hand of the charters made its adoption impracticable. The date of the adoption of the script in North-western Norway I would set at 1075–1125.²

¹ From the Anglo-Norman literary script.

² I take occasion here to add a note on the *n*-like *r* (Figs. 10–11). Hægstad (*loc. cit.*) cites Wadstein, *Fornnorska Homiliebokens Ljudlära*, p. 7, as having found occasional examples of this *r* in this MS (*AM 619*). This is a mistake. In the word to which Wadstein refers the deep *r* is the Norman lengthened *r*. I have nowhere found the *n*-like *r* in West Norwegian script.

THE EARLY ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN WELSH AND THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENGLISH SOUND-SHIFT

◊

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I. OUR PRESENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

It was maintained by the majority of early writers on historical English phonology that the English sound-shift did not take place until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that even then the so-called "continental pronunciation" of the English vowels was to a great extent kept. By some investigators of fifteenth-century texts, such as Dibelius¹ and Neumann,² it was pointed out that to judge by isolated spellings with *e* for ME *ǣ* in *man* and *name*, *i* for ME *ē* in *be*, *ou* for ME *ō* in *do*, and *ei* and *au* for ME *ī*, *ū*, in *like* and *house*, some of the sound-changes characteristic of the English sound-shift, viz., the fronting of *a* short and long, the change of *ē* and *ō* to (*i:*) and (*u:*), and the diphthongization of *ī* and *ū*, had already begun in the fifteenth century, at least in the southern or south-eastern parts of England. Many of the spellings adduced by these writers are, however, not conclusive. The available material from original letters and documents of the fifteenth century was subjected to a minute investigation in a book by the present writer entitled *The Pronunciation of English Vowels, 1400-1700*, published in the year 1913. The chief result arrived at was that all the sound-changes constituting what we call the "English sound-shift" were in operation as early as the fifteenth century, consequently not only the raising of *a* short and long

¹ "John Capgrave und die englische Schriftsprache," *Anglia*, XXIII, 24.

² *Die Orthographie der Paston Letters von 1422-1461* (Marburg, 1904).

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to (æ), (æ:), of ē, ē̄, to (i:), (u:), as well as the diphthongization of ī and ū, but also the change of ȅu to iu, of ē̄ to ē, and ȅu to iu, the leveling of ā, ai and ou, ō, under a simple vowel-sound, the smoothing of au to (ɔ:), and possibly the change of ů to (o) or (ʌ). Moreover, I tried to show that there are no safe proofs that the continental pronunciation of the vowels, as in *man*, *name*, *be*, *do*, *like*, *house*, was kept at the Elizabethan time, i.e., when Englishmen first began to write orthoepistic works in which the contemporary pronunciation was analyzed. Testimonies quoted in proof of this are based on a too literal interpretation of the evidence of the early English grammarians, Smith, Hart, Bullokar, Gill, etc., who in their sound-analysis were led astray by various theoretical considerations, such as influence from the traditional orthography, dependence on the classical writers, etc. Their vague, confused, and often contradictory statements are in many instances flatly contradicted by the evidence of occasional phonetic spellings and of the French grammarians, who define the quality of the English sounds by comparing or identifying them with equivalents in their own language.

With regard to diphthongs, such as ou in *know*, ai in *day*, and au in *law*, there existed in early New English two types of pronunciation: simple vowels such as (o:), (ɛ:), or (e:), and (ɔ:), which were generally current in colloquial speech, and diphthongs representing an earlier and somewhat archaic pronunciation. The last authority for these is Cooper (1685), who teaches them by the side of the colloquial forms. Right through the early New English period such words as *new* and *use* were pronounced with a diphthong varying between (i:u), (iu:), and (ju:), possibly also (jü:). The first safe indication of the change of ȅu to (iu), (ju:) is the spelling *due* for *dew*, 1507 (see *NED*).

In a paper on the early New English pronunciation in *Englische Studien* (LII, 316), I have given a list of phonetic spellings in original fifteenth-century letters and documents. To

bring the list quite up to date, the following alterations should be made. Replace *Mexymelyanys* with *begen* and *rensack*; replace *faunde withawth*, with *hew* ('how'); erase *gannes* and *mast*; replace *Dolton*, *stolkes*, *awnly*, and *pawntement* with *beholve* ('behalf'), *loful* ('lawful'), and *auffer* ('offer'); replace *lude* with *due* ('dew') (1507).

For more detailed information on the orthographic evidence, the reader is referred to my book, *The English Pronunciation at Shakespeare's Time* (Upsala, 1927), pages 125-143. Here the orthographic evidence has once more been closely examined. In many doubtful cases I have scrutinized the MSS in order to ascertain the correct readings, some of which have been reproduced in facsimile.

In his book, *A History of Modern Colloquial English*, Professor H. C. Wyld has brought together an additional number of occasional phonetic spellings from fifteenth-century texts. The results at which he has arrived corroborate my conclusions as to the date of the English sound-shift. Professor Wyld has also been able to prove that some of the sound-changes, e.g., that of ME \bar{o} in *do* to (*u:*), had begun as early as the second half of the fourteenth century.¹ Professor Jordan also accepts the

¹ *Colloquial English*, p. 234. Cf. Zachrisson, *EPST*, p. 91, and add: *houreson*, 'whoreson,' *Beves* l. 398 (MS Auchinleck 1327). Wyld (*HMCE*, p. 206), after having pointed out that we have evidence for the change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} as early as 1420, remarks that it is probable that the present sound was fully developed in pronunciation considerably, perhaps fifty years, earlier, and that a thorough search through the late fourteenth-century texts might reveal examples of *i*, *y*, spellings. In *A Short History of English* (2d ed., p. 115) Wyld calls attention to a number of such spellings, viz., *wyping*, *Harley Lyrics* 1310; *hyde*, *spyde*, etc., in Trevisa, *Polychr.* (MS Tib. D. VII). Others hailing from the North of England have been adduced recently by H. Orton (*Engl. Stud.*, LXIII, 248) both in place-names (*Nipisend*, 1297 *YS*, 'neep?', *Wytewood* 1314 *IPM*, OE *wēt*, 'wet') and in ordinary words: *qwyne*, *suyt* (MS Br. Mus. Add. 23986, ca. 1300, Yorks or Lincs); *kyling* 1340 *DAR*; *dide*, 'deed,' *fite*, 'feet,' and many others from *Cursor Mundi* (MS Cotton, the earliest hand ca. 1400). To these I can add the following from *Ferumbras* (MS Ashmole, end of the fourteenth century, Devon): *symeph*, l. 1700; *syche:riche*, l. 1935; *chyke*, l. 161; *aȝy:sky* (for *aȝe*, 'again'), l. 724. In the three last instances the palatal may have favored the development of *e* to *i*

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views according to which the sound-changes to which the present-day pronunciation owes its characteristic features had already begun in the fifteenth century.¹ It is only the spellings with *a* for ME *ǣ*, as in *gannes* for *gonnes*, and *o* for *a*, as in *beholve*, etc., that he looks upon as inconclusive. His skepticism is justified in the former, but not in the latter case.²

The object of this paper is to fix the chronology of the English sound-shift by evidence derived from Welsh sources. All writers on the subject have already availed themselves of W. Salesbury's works on the English and Welsh pronunciation³ and of the transcriptions of English words which occur in the *Hymn to the Virgin*. In a recent paper in *Archiv der neueren Sprachen* (1926), Professor Förster calls attention to the important fact that the oldest MS (Add. MS 14866) of the *Hymn to the Virgin* containing a phonetic transliteration in Welsh orthography is not earlier than 1587 and consequently cannot be used as a testimony for the English pronunciation in the year 1500. In the main I agree with the views on the genesis of the *Hymn* expressed by Professor Förster (pp. 201 f.). I believe, however, that the existing versions of the transliteration were

(cf. *spiche* La3., etc., Wyld, *loc. cit.*). According to my views the raising of *e* to *i* is also indicated by rhymes such as *spede: abyde, feld: child*, etc., discussed by Dibelius (*Anglia*, XXIII, 348). To these may be added *ride* (p.p.): *wede*, *Beves* l. 1293 f. (MS Auchinleck 1327, Hants) as well as *ride: wide: chide: stede* ('steed') *Octavian* ll. 1453 f. (MS Cotton Caligula A. II, end of the fourteenth century, SE. England, possibly London). The rhyme *conceive: alive, ibid.*, l. 130, may indicate the diphthongization of *ī* to (*ei*), or be interpreted as *ī: ī* (cf. Zachrisson, *English Vowels*, p. 68).

These ME spellings with *i* for *ē* are exact correspondents to those with *ou* for *ō* (*supra*, p. 288) and go far to prove (in spite of Jordan, *MG* § 53) that the change of ME *ē, ȝ,* to (*i:*), (*u:*) began as early as the fourteenth century. They also give additional weight to the early Welsh form *ȝstrȝt* for ME *strete*, 'street.'

¹ *Handbuch der mittenglischen Grammatik*, pp. 230-246.

² Cf. Zachrisson, *English Pronunciation at Shakespeare's Time*, pp. 67, 125 ff.

³ *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe* (London, 1547) and *A playne and a familiar Introduction (teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytish Tongue)* (London, 1567).

copied from an earlier original,¹ and that consequently the transcriptions may be of a considerably earlier date than 1587. I am, moreover, convinced that the poem was originally written in the fifteenth century, possibly by Ieuan ap Howel Swrdwal or his father, as stated in some of the MSS. According to Professor J. Glyn Davies (*Anglia*, 1911, p. 16 f.) the meter is that of the fifteenth century, and in our earliest MS version several lines are missing. In the line "Unto the feaste everlasting," the original must have had *everlesting* (internal rhyme!), and *lest* for *last* is not recorded after the fifteenth century, except in Scotch (see *NED*). This, in conjunction with the gaps in all the MSS, necessarily points to the existence of a lost fifteenth-century original of the poem.

There is, however, one more source of information, which, till quite recently, has been entirely neglected, viz., the English loan-words in early Welsh texts.

The material from printed sources has been collected by Professor T. H. Parry-Williams in a work entitled *The English Element in Welsh* (London, 1923). The English loan-words in the earliest Welsh texts are not very numerous, and they show no traces of the English sound-shift. In the *Mabinogion* group belonging to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there are a fair number, but it is not till we come to the *cywydd*-poets from Dafydd ap Gwilym (1320-90?) on that borrowings from English become quite frequent.² Unfortunately, the exact date of the English sound-changes cannot be determined solely by means of Professor Parry-Williams' lists of words. It is true he arranges his forms chronologically, but according to the historical date of the sources, not according to the date of the MSS. Thus,

¹ Note the heading to the version in the Peniarth MS 111, ca. 1610 (*Rep. W. MSS*, I, 2, 668): *O hynn allan y kei di hengerdd a ysgrifennais i o law Roesier Morys*, i.e., 'From here on thou shall find all poetry that I have written from the hand of Roger Morris' (fl. ca. 1550). This version may consequently be somewhat older than the one in Add. MS 14866.

² See Parry-Williams, pp. 11-13.

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to mention only two instances, we are told that the transcriptions *beibl* and *dwm* occur in the *Myvyrian Archaialogy*, which is considered to be of an earlier date than Dafydd ap Gwilym's poems. In all the editions of the *Archaialogy* that I have been able to see, the poems containing these two English words are reproduced in early modern Welsh, so without consulting the MSS we cannot draw any safe conclusions from *beibl* and *dwm* as to the date of the English sound-change of \bar{o} to (u :) and \bar{e} to (i :). Moreover, the context in which a word occurs is seldom given, and it is therefore impossible to ascertain if the pronunciation is shown by rhymes.

The authorship of many poems ascribed to the early bards is doubtful or contested. This applies in particular to Dafydd ap Gwilym. According to Professor J. Glyn Davies, the standard editions of 1789 and 1873 contain many forged poems, especially by Iolo Morgangwg, a man like Thomas Chatterton, who did his business so well that no one had suspected his poems to be forgeries until Professor Glyn Davies applied to them his metrical tests. The form *fwl*, 'fool' (*DG*,¹ page 362; Parry-Williams, p. 186), is derived from such a forged poem (Davies). The meaning of several of the words is doubtful. Professor Glyn Davies identifies *rwd* (*DG*, p. 189) with the W. *rhwd*, 'rust,' not with the Eng. *rood*, as is done by Stern (*ZcPh*, III, 182), and looks upon *rhwd* (*DG*, 324) as a word of doubtful sense ("The context suggests the reading *rhawt*").

In several instances Professor Parry-Williams has not hit upon the correct English equivalent to a Welsh loan-word. Thus, to mention only two instances, he places *dis*, 'dice' (from ME *de*, OFr *de*, Lat. *datum*), together with words containing ME \bar{i} (p. 146), and derives *crec* (*RP*, 124, etc.) from ME *knak* instead of from ME *crekes*, plural, Chaucer.²

¹ See Bibliography (pp. 307-308), for abbreviations.

² See Stratmann-Bradley, *ME Dictionary*, and cf. *crekin*, verb, in *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 57.

In the ensuing part I intend to discuss such forms in Professor Parry-Williams' lists as will help to fix the chronology of the English sound-shift. For this purpose I shall often quote, not only the isolated words, but also the passages in which they occur, and also try, as far as this is possible, to give the date of the MSS from which the forms have been derived.

In dating and sifting the material I have had the privilege of Professor J. Glyn Davies' kind advice and valuable assistance. Professor Davies has gone through all the instances I have given, eliminated a considerable number of doubtful forms, and added several new forms drawn from his inexhaustible store of early Welsh MSS. In a later paper, which will be published in collaboration with Professor Davies, some of the doubtful cases will be discussed, new forms added, and fresh points of interest for our knowledge of early English sound-history will be elucidated.

The loan-words that we are going to discuss are all derived from fourteenth- or fifteenth-century texts, but the majority of them were probably introduced into Welsh in the course of the fourteenth century, borrowings from English not being very numerous during earlier periods. The works in which they occur are written by men of learning and culture, and it is therefore probable that the phonology of the loan-words reflects cultivated English pronunciation.

An alphabetical list of the Welsh texts is given on pages 307-308.

II. THE EVIDENCE OF THE ENGLISH LOAN-WORDS IN WELSH

THE CHANGE OF ME *ĕ* TO (*i:*)

W. *ystryt* for ME *strete* ('street')

"Na vn heb ŷnteu namyn yr yr *ystryt* ('street'), uawr a gerð awd. . . . Troi penneu eu meirch a orugant *yr ystryt* uawr" (*WM*, p. 216—Peniarth MS 4, col. 278). The main part of this MS belongs to the end of the thirteenth century, but

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columns 245-340 are a little later.¹ The two forms *ystryt* consequently belong to the first half of the fourteenth century.

A mai, a haf, mi a hon
A chogau fal merch Wgon,
Ag ar *ystryd* o gyrs drain
Siap lawndeg, fal siep Lundain.

—DG, p. 138 [No. 101]

Merch i avon Iorddonen
Mordwy hwy no lliv Noe hen;
Ystred dros vaesdir ydyw
Ystryd yn vy rhwystro yw;
Tebig, pan v'wyv heb ddigiaw
I dderdri wyv ar ddwr draw.

—LGC, p. 187

W. *clir*, *cler*, *clyr*, for ME
cler ('clear')

Glew sidell, gloyw osodiad
Rhyfel wyd fy mettel mad!
Ti a'm ceidw rhag dirieidwyr.
Rheitia cledd, gwyr *rhawt y clyr*.

—DG, p. 189 [No. 134]

Osai *clir*, yn *wir*, fal naint geirw donau
Yn llawn rhadau, yn llynau rhedaint!

—*Ibid.*, p. 17 [No. 13]

Cyfnitherw dichwerw dachwedd,
I Hawd y *Clyr* hoŷw deg gledd.

—IG, p. 316

Hawt klyr kleddyf Oliver (Peniarth MS 51, in the autograph of Gwilim Tew, who flourished *ca.* 1460).²

There can be no doubt whatever that the Cymric *clir*, *clyr* is a rendering of the Fr. *Hautecler* pronounced with (e:) and (i:) in fourteenth-century English. Osthoff³ derives *clir* from *IG* **klu-r-os*, "because in the fourteenth century the English *e* in *clear* was still pronounced as (e:)." The Welsh forms of the English words given here prove that this was not the case. Moreover, there are no equivalents to the supposed Cymric

¹ *Rep. W. MSS*, I, 2, 305.

² *Ibid.*, p. 400.

³ *Z.f.c. Phil.*, VI, 395.

clir in other Celtic languages, and the vacillation between *i*, *y*, and *e* in *clir* (cf. *hautcler*, *C. Charl.*, p. 70) cannot be accounted for by Cymric sound-changes, but is quite natural in a loan-word that in English itself was pronounced with (*e*·) and (*i*·). Consequently, W. *cler* is due to ME *cler* with *e* close, *clir* goes back to late ME *clir*, and in *clyr* the W. (*i*·) has been substituted for the Eng. (*i*·). (Cf. *infra*, pp. 297–298.)

W. *dis* for ME *de(s)* ('dice')

Ysgared Gewen, dalcen *dis*,
A'i chymmar cyn pen chwemis.

—DG, p. 120 [No. 89]

Mogel dy farnu megis
Chwerwedd dwyll, chwareydd *dis*.

—DGG, p. 135

W. *sir* for ME *chere* ('cheer')

Ef a'th las a dur glas glew,
Fwrdais y weirglodd ferdew!
Yforu sy' iti *sir*
O'th lesgedd ef a'th lusgir,
Drenydd, uwch llanw manwair.

—DG, p. 190 [No. 135]

W. *bir* for ME *ber*
(‘beer’)

Ny oganaf Syr Dauydd
wan o Von am win neu vedd
Cwrw na *bir* im car ny bydd.

—DE, p. 136 [Havod MS 26, ca. 1574]

W. *fis* for ME *fes*
(‘fees’)

Gwedi darvod, gwawd oerverch
Gwichlais hon gochelai serch.
Cael *fis* o Wilam, cael fa;
Lardies nid o law wrda.

—LGC, p. 390

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W. *ssis* for ME *sege*
(‘siege’)

Yn ūcha rain vyn nechray haf
Ag yn nos iago nessaf
Dyw syl vyr deay *ssis*
Ar iaū n ol ar rann alis.

—*ID*, p. 94 [Stow MS, ca. 1575]

W. *ystil* for ME *stele*
(‘steel’)

Ystil uwch ben y milwr,
Ysgrin o gylch esgyrn gwr;
Allawr vaen val y lloer vawr
A’r eurlliw ar yr allawr.

—*LGC*, p. 21

The meaning of the two first lines is ‘a steel-helmet on the soldier’s head, a screen [OFr *escrin*] or protection about a man’s bone.’ For ‘steel’ in the sense of defensive armor cf. *NED*, “*steel*: 4.” The word cannot be identical with Eng. *style*, which is not recorded until 1387 and then only in the sense of ‘stylus,’ ‘an instrument to write with.’

The fact that ME *e* close is rendered with W. *i* in a considerable number of loan-words, both of native and French provenance, dating from the second half of the fourteenth and from the fifteenth century, renders it probable that the change of ME *ê* to (*i*:) had already begun at this early period. In several instances the new pronunciation is testified by rhymes.¹ The earliest date previously given for the change of ME *ê* to (*i*:) is the first quarter of the fifteenth century.²

In one of the examples (*ystryt WM*, etc.) W. *y* appears for ME *ê*; in another (*cler*, *clir*, *clyr*) there is an interchange of *y*,

¹ *Clir*:wir, *dirieidwyr*:*clyr*, *dis*:*chwemis*, *megis*:*dis*; *sir*:*lusgir*:*ssis*:*alis*; *ystil*:*milwr*.

² Cf. Wyld, *Colloquial English*, pp. 205 f.; Luick, *Brandl Celebration Volume*, p. 91; Jordan, *op. cit.*, § 277.

i, *e*. Additional instances of W. *y* for ME *e* are *bryfiau*, 'briefs,' *ID*, page 13 (MS BM. 14967, 120, a little later than 1527, *Rep. W. MSS*, II, 4, 996), interchanging with *brifiau*, *DGG*, CXXVI, 26, and *Fflut* for *Fleet* in London, 1640 (Cardiff 25, communicated by Professor Glyn Davies). There are also in spoken Welsh such forms as *fflyd*, 'a fleet' (Parry-Williams, p. 126); *hyd*, 'heed'; and *grydian*, 'greet' (Davies). The Eng. *e* in *brief*, *fleet*, etc., can never have been pronounced as the W. (*i:*); neither can this Welsh sound have been substituted for the long close *ē* which exists in Welsh also. As has already been suggested, I assume that the W. (*i:*) was occasionally substituted for the lax Eng. (*i:*). At present, *y* and *u* are pronounced as (*i:*) in northern Welsh, as (*i:*) in the southern parts, and this distinction existed at the time of Salesbury (1540), who hailed from the north of Wales.¹ Professor Glyn Davies has kindly informed me that even the bards from the south of Wales distinguished between *i* and *y* in their rhymes, but considering the interchange between *i* and *y* in *brifiau* and *clir* and the examples adduced above there can be little doubt that the W. *u* or *y* could be used as a substitute for the Eng. (*i:*). It is a fact that both in loan-words and transcriptions the W. *y* or *u* is often substituted both for the short Eng. *ī* and for Eng. (*i*) or (*i:*) in the diphthong *iu* in *new*.² Conversely, the OE (*i:*) was occasionally substituted for the W. (*i:*), as in *Bede's Dinoot* (from Lat. *Donatus*; cf. Strachan, p. 7).

The first indication of the change of ME *ē* to (*i:*) is consequently *ystryt* for *street* (*WM*, ca. 1325), which is due to ME *stret* with a close *ē*. That words containing West Saxon *æ* could be pronounced with a close *ē* in the London English of the fourteenth century is shown by rhymes in Davy and Chaucer, and from the occurrence in London of such shortened forms as *Stretford*, etc., for OE *Strætford*. The English instances, i.e.,

¹ Cf. Salesbury, "Welsh Pronunciation," in Ellis, *English Pronunciation*, III, 761.

² Cf. Parry-Williams, pp. 129 ff., 206 ff.; Zachrisson, *EPST*, pp. 83 ff.

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ystil, which may possibly be due to an early NE variant with *i* (*stile* from WS *stiele*; see *NED*) and *bir* are recorded only in the works of fifteenth-century writers.

I do not consider it improbable, however, that *i* in *dice*, *contrive*, *friar*, etc., is actually due to the general raising of ME *ē* to (*i:*). From the material given in the *NED*, we learn that spellings with *i* in French words, which often replace earlier forms with *e*, do not occur until about 1400 and later, whereas to judge by the rhymes in Dafydd ap Gwilym's works, they must have been in common use at least half a century earlier. The first phonetic spellings with *i* for ME *ē* in native words crop up towards the end of the fourteenth century (cf. *supra*, p. 290, n. 1), i.e., at very much the same time as in the French loan-words. As (*i:*) in the French words is considerably older¹ than is indicated by the earliest spellings with *i* (ca. 1400),² this is likely to be the case with (*i:*) in native words also.

The present pronunciation of *dice*, *contrive*, etc., with (*ai*) may be accounted for in the following way. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there must have been some speakers who pronounced such words as *be* and *write* with (*e:*) and (*i:*), whereas others pronounced them with (*i:*), and (*ij*), or (*ei*), respectively. In native words, which naturally were familiar to both these classes of speakers, no confusion between (*i:*) and (*ij*) is likely to have taken place;³ but in loan-words, where tradition did not serve to the same extent as a guide to the correct pronunciation, it is not inconceivable that the two sounds could occasionally be confused. In *dice*, *contrive*, *friar*, etc., either (*ij*) came to be used instead of (*i:*), or (*i:*) was substituted for French *ē* in later borrowing, and this (*i:*) afterward

¹ Cf. *dirieidwyr*: *clyr*, *clir*: *wir*, *dis*: *chwemis*; *megis*, *sir*: *lusgir* (DG).

² Here may, however, belong *Discereslane*, London: *Discereslane* 3 Edward I, Robert Hund. [MS later]; *Discyeslane* 33 Edward I (Hist. MSS Com., 9th Report, p. 10); *Dycers lane* 7 Edward II (9th Report, p. 44); *Dycerslane* 22 Edward III (9th Report, p. 10), etc.

³ On early NE *leke* for *like*, etc., cf. Zachrisson, *EPST*, pp. 48 f., 136.

developed into present Eng. (*ai*). This will also account for the parallel occurrence of forms with (*i:*) and (*ai*) in the same dialectal area, as in London, where by the side of *friar* we find the etymologically correct form *frere* in the local nomenclature.¹ What also speaks in favor of an early general change of ME *ē* to (*i:*) is the fact that there are no English loan-words either in early or modern Welsh with *e* for ME *ē*.²

THE CHANGE OF ME *o*, AS IN *do*, TO (*u:*)

W. *hwr* for ME *hor*

"Yn wreic *hwr* hir ymwrteis" (*RP*, p. 130, Jes. Coll. MS I, col. 1358). This part of the MS is not later than 1425 (*Rep. W. MSS*, II, 1, 1).

Myn fy nghred mi a ddwedais
I ddicwm, *hurswn*, ha'r Sais.

---*Ieuan ap Tudur*

The poem was written before 1485, but the MSS from which it is derived (Llanstephan 122, 550, 133, 310*b*) belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (Communicated by Professor Davies.)

W. *dwm* for ME *dom*

"Rhag ovyn dydd *dwm*" (*MA*, 75, 1). According to Professor Glyn Davies, this passage occurs in Peniarth 182 from the year 1514 (*Rep. W. MSS*, I, 3, 1004), but may go back to a much earlier version.³

The early form *hwr* in *RP* proves that the change of ME *ō* to (*u:*) had taken place at least as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century. On the evidence of phonetic spellings

¹ Friern Barnet [friən ba:nit]: *Freren bernet* 1274 *Ass*, *Capella Freren Barnett* 1535 *Val. Eccl.* (communicated by Mr. Gover). *Brian* may be due to analogy. It was influenced by OFr *briere* 'thorns,' 'brushwood' (Godefróir).

² Cf. Parry-Williams, pp. 125 ff.

³ None of the remaining early instances adduced by Parry-Williams, pp. 186 f., is conclusive.

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with *ou* for \bar{o} ¹ we know, however, that the change goes back to the second half of the fourteenth century, i.e., \bar{o} in *do* was in all probability changed to (*u*:) at the same time that \bar{e} in *be* became (*i*:). What also speaks in favor of this is that the regular representative of ME \bar{o} in Welsh loan-words is *u*, not *o*, which is found only in one or two early loan-words, such as *ystol*, 'stool' (*DG*, p. 99), and *ffol* (*RP*, 9*b*, 32), etc., which may be due to OFr *fol* with \bar{o} (cf. Parry-Williams, pp. 184-187).

THE DIPHTHONGIZATION OF ME \bar{i} AND \bar{u} , AS IN *bible* AND *house*

W. *owtil* for Eng. *out-isle*

A byr yr ateb wyr o'r *Owtil*,
A brau'n nghwynvan y bwrw anghenvil.

—*LGC*, p. 102

Gael *Owtils* a'u galw atad.

—*IG*, p. 13

W. *growndwal* for Eng.
ground-wall

Growndwal, a grisial holl gred
Ryw sythvaen Harri seithved.

—*LGC*, p. 72

W. *rhawt* for ME *rout*

A *rhawt* fytheiaid ar hynt
Yn ei hol, wian eu helynt.

—*DGG*, p. 65

W. *teil* for ME *tile*

A'i do *dail*, manwiall mwyn.
Mal teilys ym mol tewlwyn.

—*Ibid.*, p. 19 [Havod 26, ca. 1574]

Tô sydd ar hyd dwyais hon
Tô *teils*, tŷ tew ei hoelion.

—*LGC*, p. 158

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 290.

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Da lys haf o *deils* yw hi
A dail ysydd dulas iddi.

—*ID*, p. 14 [Add. MS 14967]

W. *veitti* for Lat. *vitæ*

Kerd hoff yw kyvwrdd a hi
Kaf etto akwaf *veitti*.

—*DE*, p. 49 [Add. MS 14967]

If the change of *ē* in *be* to (*i:*) and of *ō* in *do* to (*u:*) had already begun in the second half of the fourteenth century, it follows that the diphthongization of *ī* in *like* and of *ū* in *house* must have taken place at the same date. The first stages of the diphthongization were (*ij*) and (*uw*), which in course of time developed into (*ei*), (*ai*), (*ai*) and (*ou*), (*au*), (*au*). Before the stages (*ei*) and (*ou*) were reached, the diphthongs were naturally rendered with W. *i* and *w*. Transcriptions with W. *ei*, *ai* and *ow*, *aw* are not to be expected until the more advanced stages are reached. From what has been said, it is obvious that transcriptions with W. *ei* and *ow* in English words containing ME *ī* and *ū* must, on the whole, be rarer and somewhat later than transcriptions with W. *i* and *w* for ME *ē* and *ō*.

With the exception of *daimawnt* (ca. 1425), 'diamond' (*C. Charl*, p. 56), which may or may not be a scribal error (dittology) for *dimawnt*, the *Mabinogion* group has *i* for ME *ī*, as in *bibl*, 'bible'; *ffi*, 'fie'; *ffiol*, 'phial'; etc. The bards have *i*, as in *dditia*, 'indictment' (*DGG*, LII, 18); *pi*, 'magpie' (*DG*, p. 202); *sivys*, 'chives' (*LGC*, p. 225), etc., and *ei* (cf. *supra*, p. 301; Parry-Williams, pp. 146-149).

The same duplication is characteristic of the rendering of words containing ME *ū*. The *Mabinogion* group always has *w*, as in *gwn*, 'gown'; *twr*, 'tower'; etc. The bards sometimes have *w*, as in *gwn* (*DG*, p. 56) and *twr* (*ibid.*, 315); sometimes *ou* as in *owtil* and *growndwal*, etc. (cf. *supra*, p. 301; Parry-Williams, pp. 167-169, 208-209).

The first MS references to forms with diphthongs that I

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have noted are *veitti*, 'vitæ' (Add. MS 14967), written in the reign of Henry VIII a little later than 1525 (*Rep. W. MSS*, II, 4, 996), and *powdwr*, 'powder' (Peniarth MS 57, p. 47, l. 17), written in the second half of the fifteenth century (*Rep. W. MSS*, I, 2, 428).

If scribal tradition is at all to be trusted, fully developed diphthongs must have existed in the fifteenth century likewise, an assumption that is also supported by evidence from English sources.¹ The exact quality of the diphthong cannot be defined, but the occurrence of *rawt*=*route* and *rawter*=*Riotter* in Salesbury's *Dictionary* (cf. *rwter*, *RM*, 56, 16=Eng. *router*) from Eng. *route*: 3-4, *rute*, 3-*route*, *NED* (OFr *rute*, *route*), renders it obvious that the modern stage of (*au*) must have been reached in the early sixteenth century. The form *rhawt* also occurs in *DGG*, page 65, but as the MS in which the word is contained dates from 1620 (Add. 14879, see *Rep. W. MSS*, II, 4, 1082) it is doubtful if it reflects the pronunciation current in Dafydd ap Gwilym's own day.

CHANGE OF ME *eu*, *u*, AS IN *new* AND *use*, TO *iu*

With one single exception, *Newgad*, 'Newgate' (*LGC*, p. 26), where *ew* is due to the English spelling, the Welsh bards from Dafydd ap Gwilym onward write *uw*, *iw*, and *yw*² for the ME diphthong in *new*, and *u*, by the side of *uw*, *iw*, *yw* for *u* in French words. The diphthong *eu* being well represented in Welsh, as in *newydd*, 'new,' etc., this proves that at least from the second half of the fourteenth century the English diphthong in *new* was pronounced with (*i*) or (*i:*), not with an (*e:*), for its first element. There is no safe evidence in Welsh loan-words either for the pronunciation (*y:*) or (*e:u*).

Although both W. *u* and W. *uw*, etc., may have been substituted for the Fr. (*y*), it is probable that at the time of Chaucer

¹ Cf. Zachrisson, *English Vowels*, pp. 71 f.; *Engl. Stud.*, LII, 318; Wyld, *Colloquial English*, pp. 223 ff.; Jordan, *MG*, § 79.

² On this interchange cf. Glyn Davies in Zachrisson, *EPST*, p. 83.

and Dafydd ap Gwilym the Eng. *u* in French words was pronounced both as (y:) and *iu*. In all probability, the former was only used by speakers who were acquainted with French, whereas the latter represented the common colloquial pronunciation in which the English diphthong in *new* was substituted for the Fr. (y).¹

For illustrative instances see Parry-Williams, pages 207-207. The following are a few selected spellings: *riwbi*, 'ruby' (DG, 293) (Havod 26 has *rubi*, Davies); *siwgr*, *siwgwr*, 'sugar' (*ibid.*, 86; ID, 17, 18); *luwt*, 'lute' (LGC, 240); *resgyw*, 'rescue' (*ibid.*, 156); *trywlwv*, 'true-love' (*ibid.*, 442); *betigryw* ('pedigree').

OTHER SOUND-CHANGES

The early English loan-words in Welsh do not throw much light on the remaining stages of the great English sound-shift.

There are some indications of the fronting of ME *ǣ* in *man* and *ā* in *name*, as in *siecced*, 'jacket' (DG, 268), which, however, may be a later spelling for *siacet*, *WS*, and *epa*, 'ape,' in the Welsh Bible translation (1567), a word that is likely to reflect the colloquial English pronunciation. The remaining early instances adduced by Parry-Williams, pages 57 f., are not quite safe.²

It should be kept in mind that the W. (*a*) may easily have been substituted for the Eng. (æ),³ and that the Welsh *e* is not likely to have been written for the Eng. *a* in *name* until it had reached the stage of (ɛ:) or (e:). The W. (*a*:), which is slightly fronted, may have been substituted for the Eng. (æ:).

¹ According to my views, the English diphthong in *new* was commonly substituted for the Fr. (y) in *use*, etc., in all ME southern dialects that did not possess an equivalent to the Fr. (y) in native words containing OE *ȳ*.

² *Lerdies* (LGC, p. 339) occurs in a MS of uncertain age (B.Ph. 2954, p. 174); *clecian* (DG, 224) is an echoic word in which external sound-changes may operate; *renc* (*WS*) may be influenced by ME *renge* (see *NED*), etc. On *crec* (*RP*, 124) cf. *supra*, p. 293.

³ Cf. Zachrisson, *EPST*, p. 36.

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There are no safe indications of the leveling of ME *ā*, *ai*, and *ē* in *name*, *tail*, and *ease* under a common sound (*e*·) (half-open long *e*), which had taken place at Shakespeare's time, and is likely to have begun in the fifteenth century.¹ The Welsh loan-words have *a*, *ae*, *e* for ME *ā*, *ai*, and *ē* (Parry-Williams, pp. 81 ff., 122 ff., 193 ff.).²

For the pronunciation of the diphthong *ou* in *blow*, etc., there is but little evidence (cf. *bowling*=*bowline*, *WS*; *Powls*= 'St. Pauls,' *LGC*, 126; Parry-Williams, p. 204).

The regular representative of ME *au* in *law* is *aw* (cf. *hawg*, 'hawk,' *DGG*, 149.6; *hawnt*, 'haunt,' *LGC*, 337; Parry-Williams, p. 202), which, possibly by the side of (*ɔ*·*u*),³ was the current pronunciation of this diphthong in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

The diphthong *eu* in *few* is regularly rendered with W. *ew* (Parry-Williams, p. 205), not with *iw*, the only exception being *byw mares*, 'Beaumaris' (*RP*, 120 a 15—MS *ca.* 1425), with *y* deleted and *e* superscribed.⁴

The occurrence of W. *y* pronounced (*ə*) for ME *ǣ* in some dissyllabic words (*kynffort*, 'comfort,' etc.) is more likely to reflect a Welsh than an English sound-change (cf. Parry-Williams, pp. 163 ff.). The present pronunciation (Λ), which at least goes back to the former half of the sixteenth century,⁵ is, however, likely to be indicated by such transcriptions as *synne*, 'son'; *lyf*, 'love'; etc., in the *Hymn to the Virgin* (middle of sixteenth century). The occasional appearance of W. *o* for *ǣ*, as in *botwm*,

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 38 ff., and the references quoted there.

² The English leveling of *ou*, *ō* and especially *ai*, *ā* under a simple sound is not very likely to be reflected in the English loan-words in Welsh, as it seems to have been characteristic of London only, where it is due either to spontaneous development or importation from the north. Cf. Zachrisson, *Engl. Stud.*, LX, 359 ff.

³ Cf. Zachrisson, *EPST*, p. 68, n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Buleye* 1316 *IPM* for *Beaulieu* (*EPNS*, IV, 40) and H. Orton, *Engl. Stud.*, LXIII, 234.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 57 ff.

botwn, 'button' (*RP*, 129*b*; *DG*, 53; Llanstephan MS 6, written in the second half of the fifteenth century, etc. [Parry-Williams, p. 163]), reflects either the change of ME *ǣ* to *o*¹ or an interchange between *u* and *o* in French words of this kind.² At least in *botwn*, which almost regularly exhibits *o*, influence from the English orthography is not likely.

CONCLUSIONS

From the phonology of the early English loan-words in Welsh we can safely infer that ME *ē* and *ō* had passed into (*i:*), (*u:*), and that ME *ī* and *ū* had become fully developed diphthongs toward the beginning of the fifteenth century. There are also some indications that ME *ǣ* had become (*æ*) at the same early date.³ It is moreover certain that ME *ē* in French loan-words, such as *dice*, *clear*, *cheer*, etc., had passed into (*i:*) at the time of Dafydd ap Gwilym, i.e., at least as early as the second half of the fourteenth century, and we have strong reasons for assuming that at this date the same sound-change occurred in words of English origin also.

By availing ourselves of collateral evidence from other sources, we have, moreover, been able to show that not only the change of ME *ē* and *ī* to (*i:*), (*ij*), but also that of ME *ō* and *ū* to (*u:*), (*uw*), had already begun in the second half of the fourteenth century.

On the smoothing of the English diphthongs and the change of ME *ǣ* to (*o*) (*Λ*) we learn nothing definite from the loan-words, but it is probable for other reasons that these changes

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 58.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 59 (n. 1), 147.

³ In the North of England where the sound-shift may have commenced earlier and progressed more quickly (*æ:*) for *a* long seems to have occurred at Chaucer's time, to judge by the following remarkable forms, used by a northerner in the "Reeves' Tale"; *geen*, 'gone,' l. 4078, *neen*, 'none,' l. 4185. They occur only in the Ellesmere MS (ca. 1420) but, as is assumed by Skeat, they are likely to be the original ones used by Chaucer himself. Mr. H. Orton has kindly called my attention to these spellings.

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are somewhat later and did not take place until the second half of the fifteenth century.

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KING ARTHUR, THE CHRIST, AND SOME OTHERS

•

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The problem of the origins of King Arthur's vari-colored and complex personality has never yet been quite satisfactorily solved. As is well known, his fame in the time when he is supposed to have lived would seem to have been slight. Gildas and Bede, as has often been pointed out, knew him not. By 679 or thereabouts he was known to a predecessor of Nennius¹ as a *dux bellorum*, as *Arthur belliger*, victor in twelve, a perfect number, of shadowy battles with the Saxons. Let us suppose that he was a brave general and that he conquered in a third or a half of these engagements (though Nennius explicitly asserts that he was the victor in all); how does it come about that he was unknown to or ignored by both Gildas and Bede, especially the latter, if, as it is now thought by many, he was a product of the north?²

Yet, after all, in spite of this puzzle, the easiest and most plausible hypothesis thus far formed seems to be that the warrior Arthur lived and in the early sixth century did something striking for his country. With Dickinson we must say, *ex nihilo nihil fit*;³ this is as true of gods as of anything else. If we cling to this view for want of anything better, there still remains the question of how the soldier Arthur was transformed into the magnificent emperor-god, who numbered among his

¹ Gunn's edition, based on the manuscript of Queen Alexandria Christina of Sweden.

² Sir Edward Anwyl, in *Hastings Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, II (1910), 1-7.

³ *King Arthur in Cornwall* (1900), p. 1.

train of vassals decadent deities like Mabon and Augustus of Scotland, and whose queen was the specter Gwenhwyvar, 'White Phantom.'¹ The bridge over the gap between the warrior of Mount Badon and the demigod of the Welsh poets of, say, the tenth century, is yet to be constructed. Possibly the middle pier of the structure is the kingship, for in early times men who became the people's idols were raised in popular thought to become kings and thence king-gods—Ogier the Dane, Octavius Caesar (Augustus), Alexander—while discarded and fading gods were transformed into the same class of beings—Leir, Old King Cole, Beli, Bran, Melwas, Gwynwas, Ludd, Llwch, Llaw, Mider.²

Possibly suggestive in this connection may be the Jewish conception of the Messiah, a being, who, like the medieval Arthur, combined human and divine attributes, and with whom Christians early identified Jesus. In this paper, accordingly, I propose to see what and how much the stories of King Arthur and the Christ have in common. It will be understood that I am not concerned with the historical Jesus nor with the human Arthur. I shall deal only with stories and events that were connected with them as kings or divinities. It will also be instructive to adduce the parallels that suggest themselves from the lives of Gautama Buddha and Zarathustra.

1. *Historical conditions.*—We may first note the similarity of conditions in Judea before the chief period of the development of the Jewish messianic idea and the conditions obtaining in Britain before Arthur came to be regarded as a god. The people of Judea were subjugated by the Chaldeans in 586 B.C., and thereafter, except for the brief Hasmonæan period of eighty years (143–63 B.C.), had no independence. In 63 B.C. Pompey established the Roman power throughout Syria. In the first century A.D. the messianic hope, hitherto sporadically developed,

¹ Sir John Rhŷs, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 38.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 38 f.

or at any rate sporadically expressed, became more universal than ever before.¹ Born, perhaps, of the doctrine of metempsychosis and the desire to see the great dynastic line of David perpetuated, it would seem to have been fostered by the growth of national spirit and the passionate desire for a liberator.

The southern tribes of Britain had likewise been defeated by the Saxon hordes, and if, as seems probable, the British forces under the leadership of an unknown commander, perhaps Arthur, had been able to stay the progress of the Saxons here and there for a time, it was no permanent and decisive repulse; steadily the Saxon invaders closed in on their divided and helpless foes until most of Britain was controlled by Saxon generals and rulers.

Under such conditions the memories of a happy former time pass through the alembic of sorrowful contemplation and passionate desire, to reappear as roseate hopes and prophecies of the future. "Though Babylon should mount up to heaven, and though she should fortify the height of her strength, yet from me shall spoilers come unto her, saith the Lord" (Jer. 51:53). Yahve will not leave his people in bondage; the rule of the Sassenach shall pass; *inclytus Arthurus, rex quondam rexque futurus!*

2. *Divine paternity*.—When Jesus, the son of Joseph the carpenter and Mary his wife, came, after many decades, to be looked upon as the divine Son of God, his human father came to be regarded as merely his step- or foster-father. As it was announced to Mary (James, *Protevangelion* [ed. Walker], ix, 13), "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." "And she said to me [Joseph]: 'Is she not thy wife?' And I said to her: 'It is Mary that was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her

¹ C. W. Emmet, in *Hastings Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII (1916), 570-581, esp. p. 577, col. 1; also Albert M. Hyamson, "Pseudo-Messiahs," in *Hastings Encyclop. of Religion and Ethics*, VIII, 581-588.

by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has conceived by the Holy Spirit' " (*ibid.*, chap. xix).

So Uther Pendragon, by the aid of the wizard Merlin in the guise of Gorlois the Duke, obtained access to Igerne, Duchess of Cornwall, and became the father of Arthur (Geoffrey, viii, 19). But does the parallel hold? Was Uther ever a god? There is no clear proof of it; yet it seems a possible inference that he was earlier a Celtic god who became degraded to the status of an earthly king.¹ Nennius knows nothing of him. He first appears, quite abruptly, in Geoffrey (v, 5) as the son of Constantine and the brother of Constans and Aurelius Ambrosius; and it is therefore possible that he is a fabrication of Geoffrey's; but this seems less likely, since Geoffrey is not much given to this sort of fabrication. Evidence that Uther should be treated as a god² seems to be afforded by the reference to him in poem 31 of the "Black Book of Caermarthen" (Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, I, 261-264; II, 50-53, 350-351) where Mabon the son of Mydrion is called his servant, and no connection is claimed between him and Arthur; also by "The Death-Song of Uther Pendragon" in "The Book of Taliessin" (No. 48, *op. cit.*, I, 297-299; II, 203-204, 419), in which he sings his own elegy, mentioning Arthur but without any suggestion of a personal relationship, and in which he speaks of himself as a bard, a harper, a piper, a crowder, the enchanter of seven-score musicians. Even though the poem may be late, the tradition thus embodied seems to be early, and evidently, on the side of his musicianship, at least, has little to do with an earthly King Uther.

Recurring for a moment to Uther as the brother of Constans

¹ Sir John Rhŷs, *Hibbert Lectures on . . . Celtic Heathendom*, pp. 567 f., and *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 256; Kemp Malone, "The Historicity of Arthur," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII, 463-491, esp. p. 469; Roger S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (1927), p. 352.

² Whether the name be derived from *Uther Ben* and *Arthur mab Uter*, 'son of Uther,' with Guest, *Origines Celticae*, II, 263, cf. p. 193, or simply from *uthyr*, 'the terrible one,' with Malone.

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and Aurelius Ambrosius, in Nennius, by the way, Merlin is called Ambrosius (Sec. 42) and in Section 48 it is said that the provinces of Builth and Guorthegirnaim were granted to Pascent, son of Vortigern, "by Ambrosius, who was the great king among the kings of Britain." In Geoffrey, likewise, Aurelius is a great king. If, now, we accept this identification Aurelius-Ambrosius-Merlin,¹ then, as Uther's brother, Merlin becomes the uncle of Arthur, and his interest in the fortunes of the young prince is neatly motivated.

For the view that identifies the father of Arthur with Merlin himself, see W. J. Gruffydd, *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*, 1912-1913, page 79; Roger S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance* (1927), page 135.

Likewise Zeus, assuming various human guises, begets demigods and half-human children—Perseus, Heracles, Castor and Pollux, Helen, Minos of Crete, Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, Bacchus, Amphion, and Zethus.

Gautama Buddha chose his earthly parents, the Lady Maya and her husband King Suddhodana; but his father was a parent in name only. He entered into his mother's womb independently, through her side. At the moment of entrance many marvels took place.²

The prenatal life of the prophet Zarathustra was likewise popularly thought to have been attended by many marvels. The mother of the prophet became so resplendent by reason of the Glory that descended from the presence of Auharmazd to reside in her that her father was induced to send her away as a witch. Zarathustra sprang from a threefold union of the Glory, the Guardian Spirit, and the Substantial Nature. This union, however, did not apparently interfere with the concep-

¹ Cf. Maynadier, *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, pp. 119-126; Sir John Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 162.

² V. Fausböll, *Buddhist Birth Stories* (trans. T. W. Rhys Davids, 1880), pp. 62-64; Henry C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1896), pp. 42-44.

tion of the child according to the ordinary human process; it rather sublimated that process.¹

3. *Birth*.—According to Luke (2:8-14), the birth of Jesus was announced to the shepherds by an angel with whom the shepherds saw a multitude of the heavenly host, and by a star in the east.² The shepherds of Luke correspond to the Wise Men, later kings, who saw the star in Matthew and were guided by it to the manger in Bethlehem. In the apocryphal *Protevangelion*, xiii, there is also a curious miracle of the sudden stoppage of the birds in their flight and of working people in their eating and of the kids in their drinking.

So Arthur received at his birth the gifts of the elves (Layamon, ll. 19254-19269). It is noteworthy that this passage is not found in any earlier author. Fletcher³ is reminded of the coming of the Norns at the birth of Helgi.⁴ So at his birth came the fairies also to the infant Ogier the Dane.⁵

The Star of Bethlehem is paralleled by the star in Geoffrey (viii, 14, 15), really a comet, which appeared at Winchester to indicate the successor of Uther.

At the moment of the Buddha's birth as at that of his conception, the thirty-two Good Omens were seen.⁶

At the birth of Zarathustra all nature rejoices: "The very trees and rivers share in the universal thrill of gladness that shoots through the world; while Ahriman and the terror-stricken demons take flight into the depths of earth." The fiends tried to prevent his birth but in vain; at his birth a divine light shone round the house; a shout of joy arose when life triumphed; and a loud laugh burst from the child as he entered the world.⁷

3. *Youth*.—The canonical Gospels say little about the youth

¹ Abraham V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster* (1899), pp. 24 ff.

² Matt. 2:1, 2; *Protevangelion*, xv.

³ *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 162.

⁴ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, I, 131.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. cxxx.

⁶ Fausböll, *op. cit.*, p. 68; Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

⁷ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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of Jesus. He was precocious and phenomenal with reference to his understanding of and attitude toward the Jewish law (Luke 2:40-51; I Infancy of Jesus 21:1-29). The apocryphal first and second books of the Infancy of Jesus, however, are full of marvels about his childhood, e.g., he causes Satan to go out from Judas Iscariot in the form of a dog (I Inf. 14:5-9); he causes clay animals and birds to eat, drink, and fly (I Inf. 15:2-6); he perfects the handiwork of his father Joseph (I Inf. 16:1-16).

Arthur was likewise "a youth of such unparalleled courage and generosity joined with that sweetness of temper and innate goodness as gained him universal love" (Geoffrey, ix, 1). The only miracle wrought by him as a youth is his plucking the sword from the stone (*Merlin*, chap. vi), which is paralleled, of course, by Sigurd's plucking the sword of Odin from the Branstock (*Volsungasaga*, chap. iii).

The future of the young Gautama was prophesied by the permanence of the shadow cast by him at the Sowing Festival.¹

The youth of Zarathustra was a constant struggle with the fiends, who harassed him by means of magic and even tried to poison him. When his father and two sorcerers endeavored to argue with him about the faith they were routed. At fifteen he assumed the Kusti, or sacred thread.²

4. *Deeds of Prowess*.—We need not dwell on this matter. Jesus' miracles were, in part at least, victories over the demons and the powers of darkness (e.g., the healing of the man possessed of devils [Luke 8:27-33] and of the boy tormented by a spirit [Luke 9:38-42]).

So Arthur fights with the giant of Mont St. Michel (Geoffrey, x, 3) and with the giant cat of the Lac de Lausanne.³ In

¹ Fausböll, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 f.; Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-55.

² Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

³ "Merlin," *Livre d'Artus*, chap. xxxiii; E. Freymond, in the *Groeber Festgabe* (Halle, 1899); J. Loth, *Contribution à l'Étude des Romans de la Table Ronde* (Paris, 1912).

the *Life of St. Carrannog* he hunts the Serpent of Carrum. At the battle of Gurnion Castle, wearing the image of the Virgin Mary on his shield, *isgwyd*, or on his shoulders, *isgwydd*, as the latter writer has it, he miraculously routs the Saxons; in *Kilhwch and Olwen* he rivals Heracles in achieving impossible labors. At Mount Badon he slays 940 of the enemy with his own hands (Nennius, Sec. 50).

Gautama excelled other bowmen who could shoot like lightning and hit the mark within a hair's breadth.¹ As he was about to attain to the Buddhahood, he was attacked by the army of Mara, which he repulsed by reflecting on the Ten Perfections.²

Zarathustra healed a blind man by means of a certain plant.³

At forty Zarathustra underwent his temptation. The demon Buiti was sent by Ahriman to overthrow him, and later a Karap in the female form of Spendermat again tempted him, but he discovered the disguise and foiled the fiend.⁴

5. *Death*.—Jesus foreknew the time and place of his death (Luke 22:22). Arthur was warned by the vision of Gawain of his approaching death (Malory, *Morte d'Arthure*, xxi, 3, 4). In time it came to be maintained that he had not died. In the "Englynion y Bedev" ('Verses of the Graves'), No. 44 ends: *Anoeth bid y Arthur*, 'Hard to find is the grave of Arthur.'⁵

According to the *Chronicon Paschale*, Zarathustra foretold his own death. He perished by lightning or a flame, which reminds Jackson of Elijah and the chariot of fire.⁶

6. *Journey into Hell*.—The descent of Christ into the world of the dead was widely accepted among early Christians from

¹ Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 f.

² Fausböll, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-101; Warren, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-82.

³ Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

⁵ Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 32; II, 315.

⁶ Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 126, 251.

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the fifth century on. It grew up after the completion of the canon, being based on passages like Acts 2:27, 31.¹

Arthur likewise journeyed more than once into the country of the dead.²

7. *Second coming*.—The second advent of Jesus, as is well known, has always been an article of devout belief among Christians,³ the question at issue being when he will come or if he has already come (as men like John Humphrey Noyes, of the Oneida Community, believed).

Arthur likewise prophesied his second coming (Layamon, ll. 28618–28621, 28648–28651). This came to be a matter of profound belief in Cornwall, so that one who disputed it ran serious risk. In 1113 some Laon monks were sent into England to secure money for the rebuilding of their cathedral. In the words of Herman the Monk:

Quidam etiam vir ibidem manum aridam habens, coram feretro pro sanctitate recipienda vigilabat. Sed sicut Britones solent iurgari cum Francis pro rege Arturo, idem vir cœpit rixari cum uno ex famulis nostris, nomine Haganello, qui erat ex familia domni Guidonis Laudunensis archidiaconi, dicens adhuc Arturum vivere. Unde non parvo tumultu exorto, cum armis ecclesiam irruunt plurimi, et nisi præfatus Algardus clericus obstitisset, pene usque ad sanguinis effusionem ventum fuisset.⁴

It is observable, however, adds the skeptical writer, that Our Lady hardly favored this belief, or at any rate frowned upon the pressing of it out of season:

Quam rixam coram feretro suo factam credimus Dominæ nostræ displicuisse, nam idem vir manum habens aridam, qui pro Arturo tumultum fecerat, sanitatem non recepit.⁵

¹ See William H. Hulme, *The ME Harrowing of Hell and The Gospel of Nicodemus*, E.E.T.S., E.S. 100, Sec. 5, and the literature there noted.

² Cf. "Preiddeu Annwfn" ("The Spoils of Annwn"), Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 264–266; II, 181–182, 410–411; *Mesur Pritguenn*, Lib. Landav. (Oxford ed.), p. 207; and the references given by Anwyl in *Hastings Encyclop.*, II, 3.

³ Acts 1:11; II Pet. 2:4, 10–12; Rev. 22:20.

⁴ *De Miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis*, II, 16, in Migne, *Patrol.*, CLVI, 983.

⁵ Referred to by Bruce, I, 10.

Conclusion.—The analogies pointed out above should be mutually helpful with regard to the understanding of both the Arthurian and the Christus questions. Arthur and Christ were man and god. Starting as men who captured the favor of the people, the one as a warrior and the other as a prophet, both were elevated to the godhead. In both cases the process was probably gradual; it went on for decades, perhaps for generations. The extant materials do not permit us to watch the growth of either myth; but we may guess that in each case one marvel was added to another, one brave deed piled on top of another, until the folk-mind was fain to exclaim: "Surely no one but a god could have done this; never man spake like this man!" "Ecce Deus!"

Thus in a way the old theory of Sir John Rhys¹ is vindicated. With the historical Arthur there was in time combined, telescoped, a Brythonic god Arthur. But Sir John did not see that (if the foregoing theory be sound) the god had evolved from the heroic human figure and that the successive stages had been hopelessly confused in popular thought, as, perhaps, they have also been in the thought of some modern scholars trying to untangle the skein.

Professor Malone, out of the fulness of a fertile mind, has given us two explanations of the name "Arthur." In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXIII, 463 ff., he argues for the derivation from *aruthyr*, 'cruel, fierce'; in *Modern Philology*, XXII, 367-374, he furnishes evidence of the existence of "Artorius" as the name of a Roman general who served as the commander of a legion stationed at York in the middle of the second century. With regard to the latter evidence as explaining the pseudo-historical material about Arthur, a possible comment is that it is a long time between the second and the sixth centuries; and there is no evidence to show that L. Artorius Castus did enough to cause his name to be remembered so

¹ *Arthurian Legend*, p. 8.

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long, and his person, after three or four centuries, to be thus exalted among the Cymry. We come back, then, to the hypothesis of a human fifth-sixth-century Arthur. But the myth-making tendency that elevated a human Arthur to the position of a god may have been helped on by such considerations as are set forth in Malone's earlier article.

"HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT
WAS RUDE"

◊

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The Miller's contemptuous reference to the Carpenter (in the *Canterbury Tales*, A 3227) may sound rather too personal for the reader of today. It may, therefore, please him to know that sometime about the third century A.D., a citizen of the Roman Empire wrote a collection of homely sayings in Latin distichs, giving pithy expression to a great many shrewd truths, as well as evidence of a rather skeptical and pessimistic outlook on life. This work is in the most important MSS headed *Liber Catonis* or even *Dicta M. Catonis*, though it can only be connected with any bearer of the famous Roman name in the way already indicated by the medieval edition entitled *Catho moralisatus*, where the Preface, beginning *Summi deus largitor premij*, discusses the possible authorship of Seneca and Johannes Crisostomus and goes on (ed. 1494, fol. A iii):

Dicunt tamen quidam quod sic intitulatur. Incipit ethica Cathonis id est moralis scientia. non quia Catho composuit. sed quia ille qui composuit ipsum Cathonis nomen ut esset autorisabilior appellauit.

Whoever the author was, he not only urged the most scrupulous nicety in adjusting matters between one's self and one's fellow-men—thus, distich I, 40:

Dapsilis interdum notis et caris amicus
Cum fueris, dando semper tibi proximus esto—

but he also insisted on giving as good as he got, as in I, 26:

Cum simulat verbis nec corde est fidus amicus
Tu quoque fac similis: sic ars deluditur arte.

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

Though widely separated in time and place, this writer and those who wrote *Koheleth* and *Hávamál* are of the same cast of mind: hard-headed, short-tempered, and self-centered.

The work is preserved in a great many MSS from the ninth century and later, in which it comprises four books of 40, 31, 24, and 49 distichs, respectively, each with a *praefatio*, the first of which consists of 57 *breves sententiae* in prose. The *sententiae*, which seem to have been added later, were termed *Parvus Cato*, the distichs, *Magnus Cato*.¹ The whole work was extraordinarily popular in the Middle Ages and has been worked over several times, especially in a curious fourteenth-fifteenth-century *re-chauffé* with interpolated lines, *Cato interpolatus*.² A similar but older and more interesting work of interpolation is found in a MS in the Library of Avignon, beginning (fol. 1):

Que regnant animo feliciter omnia vincunt.
Si Deus est animus nobis, ut carmina dicunt,
Est Deus in nobis, animo sit semper habendus,
*Hec tibi precipue sit pura mente colendus.*³

In this way the piece goes on; in each stanza lines 2 and 4 form the original distich, while lines 1 and 3 have been added by the author, who speaks of himself in some additional stanzas at the end:

Hoc opus exegi, quamvis non mente serena
Prestitit ingenium, sicut paupercula vena,
Judex Ricardus postremus gente Pirontus,
E domo bene non magis docmate comptus.

Anno milleno centesimo ter numerato
Bis denoque nono Christo de Virgine nato,
Udenoque tamen quater anno sine pacto
Etatis proprie, Veneris jam cuspidis fracto. . . .

¹ See Skutsch in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Vol. I (1903), and cf. E. Bischoff's dissertation, *Prolegomena zu Dionysius Cato* (Erlangen, 1890); ed. Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, III, 205, also separately by O. Hauthal (Berlin, 1869) and by Geyza Nemethy (Budapest, 1895).

² Ed. Zarncke in *Verhandlungen der kgl. sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1865, 1863, 1870), XVII, 54; cf. *ibid.*, XV, 23; XXII, 181.

³ *Catalogue général des MSS des Bibl. Publ. de France*, Vol. XXVII, No. 343.

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Devote lector, pro me, qui legeris, hora (!)
Celitus ut rapiar cum mortis venerit hora.

Explicit libellus Adoptivi (?) Cathonis.

The work must accordingly have been done in the year 1329 by a certain Richard Piront, judge (probably of Avignon), who at the age of forty-four had given up Venus for Cato—very unwisely, it appears.

During the Middle Ages the *Dicta Catonis* were frequently translated, into nearly all the European vernaculars; Anglo-French, Old English, and Middle English versions are numerous.¹ Of the latter the most interesting, and probably the earliest as well, is a fourteenth-century paraphrase of the Latin original, done in four-line stanzas in some North-Midland district and edited by Professor Max Förster in *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, 1, from two MSS, Cambr. Sidney Sussex Coll. Δ 4.1 and Oxf. Bodl. Rawl. 59, both dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, and textually rather corrupt, especially the latter.² A third authority, which is both earlier and better, is, however, in existence, preserved at the Royal Library of Copenhagen as Thott in-folio, No. 306. It consists of two quires, A-B, of eight and six vellum leaves, respectively, measuring 26.9×17.6 cm., and written in a clear, though somewhat cramped, hand from the close of the fourteenth century; the only contents are the *Dicta Catonis*, each distich of which is first written in Latin and then followed by its ME paraphrase.

¹ See especially Förster in Schanz's *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, III, 39 (cf. *Archiv*, CI, 29; CXV, 298; Zupitza, *ibid.*, XC, 296); also M. O. Goldberg's dissertation, *Der englische Cato* (Leipzig, 1883) (cf. *Anglia*, VII, 165; Furnivall's ed. of *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, p. 553, and the Early English Text Society ed. of *Cursor Mundi*, Part V, App. IV, pp. 1668 ff.); E. Stengel in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie*, No. 47; and Fr. Zarncke, *Der deutsche Cato* (Leipzig, 1852).

² See my *Chaucer Tradition*, p. 352, and cf. Förster in *Anglia*, XLII, 166; also Wells, *Manual of Writings in ME*, p. 378, and Carleton Brown, *Register of ME Religious Verse*, II, 377; cf. Napier in *Archiv*, XCV, 163.

"HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE"

The text is much better than that of the two other authorities, as seen, e.g., from the stanza rendering distich I, 4:

Sperne repugnando tibi tu contrarius esse
Conueniet nulli qui secus desidet ipse.¹

Here the Cambridge and Oxford MSS have (stanzas X and 10):

Loke þou contrarius be in no wise	Be nought contrarius desyryng prys
With þi selfen; for he, þat ise	With thi seluen; for that ys
Acustomed with himself to strue,	Acustomed with hym-self to stryue
Schal with non oþer acorde on liue	Schal with noon other acorde on lyue.

This shows a faulty rhyme in the first couplet, while the Copenhagen MS reads much more satisfactorily:

Loke thou contrarius by no wyse be
With thyselfe. for he that .y. se
Acustomyd with hym selfe to stryue
Shal with noone othir acorde of lyue.

Below I print the *praefationes* of each book and the stanzas that show the most important deviations—nearly always for the better—from the two other authorities; I reproduce the text exactly as it stands in the MS, also the Latin lines, which are copied in somewhat larger writing than the ME verses (red initials are printed in heavy type and dissolved abbreviations are italicized):

FOL. A 1

	Cvm animadu ^{er} terem quam plurimos
	homines errare grauiter in via
[I. Praefatio]	morum succurrendum et consulendum
	opinion <i>i</i> eorum fore existimaui max-
	ime vt glori[o]se viuerent et hono-
	rem conti[n]gerent.

¹ Latin text from the Copenhagen MS, fol. A 2. In my *Chaucer Tradition*, p. 381, I have suggested that the paraphrase was handed down orally, the Copenhagen, Cambridge, and Oxford MSS representing three stages of growing corruption.

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When I vmbepenke me hertly
 How fele men erryn greuously
 And goon from wey of vertuous wil
 me thenkith it spedful . and I wil
 Say sum thing . that shulde with resoun
 Succurre to here opinioun
 Wherfore that they may thryfty be
 And lede her lyfe in honeste

[I. Praef.]

Nunc te fili *karissime* docebo quo pacto mores animi
 tui componas igitur precepta mea ita legito vt in-
 telligas. legere *enim* non intelligere necligere est.

Now to the my swete sone dere
 I shal the schewe in what manere
 The thewes of thi thouzt thou may
 Conforme wel to vertues verray
 Take thou my biddingys so on hand
 That thou hem rede and vndirstande
 ffor it is wel ner worth no thing
 To rede wyth oute vndirstanding

[I. Praef.]

Itaque deo supplica. parentes ama. cognatos cole. foro
 te para. cum bonis ambula. datum serua. ad consilium
 ne accesseris antequam voceris.

Ofte meke praiers to god thou make.
 ffadir and modir thou nouzt forsake
 Loke to thy frendis dere thou be
 And to market purueye the
 Wyth goode men go and hold couenand
 Hayle blepely. be clene farand
 Qvyte that thou owe. prese nouzt the
 To counseil til thou clepid be.

FOL. A 16

Quod satis est dormi. iusiurandum serua. vino te
 tempora.
 troco lude. alias fuge. minorem ne contempceris. pugna
 pro

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

[illegible]

Slepe with mesure. and kepe thy lealte
And to the wyne thou tempere the
Play with the top. and fle the deys
Lesse than thy selfe thou scorne no weys
ffyzt for thy cuntray stalworthly
To whom thou gyuys se ryzt graythely
Drede thy maister and kepe thy thyng
Leeue foly and flateryng
With diligence do al thy deede
But lyzt wymmen I the forbede

[I. Praef.] miliam cura. bonis benefacito. blandus esto. tute consule
existim[a]cionem retine. neminem irasceris. virtute
vtere.
illud stude agere quod iustum. nil arbitrio virium feceris.

Rede bookys ofte and letteris lere
Hoolde that thou lerys . thy mayne sterc
Do wel to goode . and speke mekely
Thou consayle al wey sekyrly
Goode estimacion al wey hoolde
Scorne thou neythir yonge ne oolde.
Vse vertues and do but ryzt
Worche wyth lawe. and nouzt with mizt

[I. Praef.] Patere lege quam ipse tuleris. pauca in conuiuio loqueris
minime iudica. maledictus ne esto. nil mentire. libenter
fero amorem.

Suffre the lawe that thou wilt bring
At feste speke but lityl thyng
To thingis ay that ry3twys be
Be iustful iugge. and al wey fle
The maledictioun of god and man
Lye nouzt as fer as thou kan
I wil eke that thou louyng be
To hem that thou worst louyn the.

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FOL. A 2¹

- [I, 1] **Si deus est animus nobis vt carmina dicunt**
Hic tibi precipue sit pura mente colendus
- My swete sone atte begynnyng**
Syth god ys maker of al kynthyng
Honoure hym and serue and preyse
Wyth stedefast herte with oute fauteyse
- [I, 3] **Plus vigila semper ne sompno deditus esto**
Nam diuturna quies vicijs alimenta ministrat
- Wake wel the more that thou ne be**
To slepe ful soiet. for we se
That moche slepe and longe restyng
Makith to vicis norishyng
- [I, 3] **Uirtutem primam puta esse compescere linguam**
Proximus ille deo qui sit ratione tacere
- The ferste vertu my swete sone dere**
That is to daunte thy tonge and stere
ffor al wey next to god is he
That wel with reson stille kan be

FOL. A. 3

- [I, 17] **Ne cures siquis tacito sermone loquatur**
Con[s]cius ipse sibi de se putat omnia dici
- Ryzt pryuily thaw peple speke the by**
Recke nougt. for he that is gilty
Leuyth alle men spekyn of hym. whan he
seeth hem spekyn in pryuyte

FOL. A 4^b

- [I, 33] **Cum dubia in certis vercetur. vita periculis**
Pro lucro tibi pone diem quicunque laboras
- To slo destresse and pouerte**
And alle poyntys of necessite
To wynde sum thing do besynesse
Al day that thou may efte haue ese

¹ The upper half of this page is reproduced on the accompanying plate.

Deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt
hic tibi precor sit pura mente colendus
My swete sone aye begynnyn

With god ys maker of al thyngyn
honoure hym and serve and pryse
Withstedest here with our fawcysse

Plus vigila semper ne somnus solutus esto
Nam diuturna quies viciis alimenta ministrat
Wake wel the more that thou ne be

To slepe ful soet. for we se

That weche slepe and longe resting

Waketh to viciis neyghyn

Auritem primam pura esse cōspere linguam

Proximus ille deo qui sit ratione tacere

O he ferste vertu my swete sone dare

That is to saunte thy tonge and here

For al wey next to god is he

That wel with reson stille kan be

Sperne repugnando tibi tu contrarius esse

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

FOL. A 5

[II. Praefatio] *Telluris si forte velis cognoscere cultus
Virgilium legito quod si mage nosce laboras
Herbarum vires macer tibi carmine dicet
Si romana cupis et punica noscere bella
Lucanum queras qui martis prelia dicet
Si quis amare libet vel dicere amare legendo
Nasonem petito sin autem tibi cura hec est*

zif thou wyse wilt be of telyng
Rede virgile and se his teching
Or if thou of erbis wille welle knawe
Macer her strengthis wel kan the shawe
Or zit may falle it wil the lyke
To rede of rome or of affrike
The grete batailys thou may rede
Lucas that wel kan telle her dede
Or if with amours thou wilt asay
To be aqueynted than I the pray
Thou aftir the booke of ovide spere
And there of amours thou lere

[II. Praef.]^r

*Ut sapiens viuas audi que discere possis
Perque semotum vicijs deducitur eum*

My swete sone here and lere oun thing
That the may turne in amending
So in thyne age thou be parfite
And from alle vicijs clene and quyte

FOL. A 5b

*Ergo ades et quid sit sapiencia discere legendo
Si potes ignotis eciam prodesse memento*

[II. Praef. + II, 1, 1] *Proffite in al that euыр thou may
To lere wysdom 7 worshiپe ay
Teche men eke that straungers be
Vertues. zif it anoye nozt the*

^r This is not in MS Ca(mbridge), but cf. MS O(xford), ll. 228–231. Distich II, 4, is not in MS Co(penhagen), but in Ca (LIII) and O (93).

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FOL. A 6*b*

[II, 16]

Nec te collandas nec te culpaueris ipse
Hoc faciunt stulti quos gloria vexat inanis

Loke thou noo preisyng of thy selfe make
Ne ȝit thy selfe thou shulde nouȝ lacke
ffor wyse men it rettyng to gret foly
And clepyng it but vaynglory

FOL. A 7

[II, 25]¹

Rebus in aduersis animū submittere noli
Spem retine spes vna hominū in morte relinquis

Lef neuyr goode hoope while thou may leste
In alle dissesse hoope is best
ffor hoope is of so goode nature
It leeuȝth no man whyle he may dure

FOL. A 7*b*

[II, 31]²

Sompnia ne cures nam mens humana quod optat
Dum vigilat sperat quod sompnum seruit idipsum

To metynggis truste thou no kyn thyng
For they are but ymagynyng
Of wakyng men. este in her sleping
Hem thynke þey se the same thyng

[II, 30]²

Sit tibi pręcipue quod primum est cura salutis
Tempora ne culpes cum sit tibi causa doloris

The thing that sittith wel to the
Vse it dere sone in al degre
I rede the to thy frende thou enclyne
ȝif it be goode. ay to the fyne

[III. Praefatio]

Hoc quicumque velis carmen cognoscere lector
Hec pręcepta feras que sunt gratissima vite

Who euyr desirith to knowe this writ
Or here or rede ofte sithis it
The comaundementis he may lere
That to the lyfe ryȝt thankful ere

¹ Distichs II, 26–27, are not in Co and Ca, but are found in O (55–56).

² These distichs follow in the right order in Ca and O.

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

[III, 1] Instrue preceptis animum ne discere cesses
 Nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis ymago
 Cum here and rede 7 vndirstande
 And thou shalt lerne wysdom redande
 ffor the lyfe that is with oute lore
 A dede ymage ryzt as it wore

FOL. A 8

[III. Praef.] Comoda multa feras sin autem sperneris illut
 Non me scriptorem sed te neclexeris ipse
 Her men may profite be many wyse
 And 3if men wille my wit despyse
 He despisith nother my writ ne me
 But hym selfe forgetith he

[III, 5] Signiciem fugito que vite ignauia fertur
 Nam cum animus languet consinuit inhercia corpus
 Be nouzt heuy noo thing to do
 That is thy proffite . but go ther to
 ffor be thy thouzt set in heuynesse
 Thy body is in the gretter presse

FOL. A 8b

[III, 8] Quod tibi sors dederit tabulis suprema notato
 Augendo serua ne sis quam fama loquatur
 If in thy age it happe the
 That thou of ryches abundaunt be
 loue treuthe worship and be thou fre
 To thy frende in necessite¹

[III, 11] Rebus et in sensu si non est quod fuit ante
 ffac viuas contemptus eo quod tempora prebent
 If the happe ony myscheuyng
 Oof thy goode. or 3it of thy wynnyng
 My dere sone loke thou payde be
 Of that that tyme zeuyth to the

¹ This stanza really translates distich III, 9, which follows in the MS with the proper translation of the distich above.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

FOL. B 1b

- [III, 22] **F**ac tibi *proponas* mortem non esse timendam
 Que bona si non est finis tamen illa *malorum* est
- P**eyne of deth my dere sone ne drede
 In thouzt in contenaunce ne in dede
 ffor we alle to the deeth shul wende
 But deeth of evil men is the eende

FOL. B 2

- [IV. Praefatio] **S**ecuram *quicumque* cupis deducere vitam
 Nec vicij*s* adherere animi quo morib*us* obsunt
- S**ekyr lyfe gif thou wilt lyue
 And the hoole from vicys zeue
 That standith a gayn thewys of thouzt
 Loke that thou vse hem nouzt
- [IV. Praef.] **H**ec precepta tibi que sunt religenda memento
 Inuenies aliquid *quod* te vitare magistro
- H**aue euyr these versys in thy menyng
 That y the shewe thwr*3*h my techyng
 Thwr*3*h vsage redyng. and besynesse
 Of stodyng. men recoueryn ese

FOL. B 2b

- [IV, 8]¹ **Q**uod prestare potes gratis concede rogandi
 Nam recte feciste bonis in parte *lucrosu*m** est
- W**hat thou wilt zeue . zeue with goode wil
 To men that thou wilt zeue ouzt til
 ffor thyng zouyn to men of prys
 With goode wil . in partie wonnyn is
- [IV, 7]¹ **R**es age que prosunt rursus vitare memento
 In quib*us* error inest nec spes est certa laboris
- D**o thyng that the may turne to goode
 And eshewe with mayn and moode
 Myssykyr thyng that may nouzt vaile
 Ne sumdel quite thy trauayle

¹ These distichs follow in the right order in Ca.

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

FOL. B 3

- [IV, 12] Cum tibi preualide fuerint in corpore vires
ffac sapias si tu poceris vir fortis haberi
- Ȝif thou be man of myȝty tayle
And stronge thy myȝt for to assayle
In thy profe loke thou curtays be
ffor stronge . so men shullyn hoolde the
- [IV, 14]¹ Cum sis ipse nocens moritur cur victima parte
Stulticiam est in morte alterius sperare salutem
- If thou be ille noyand and wycke
Why shulde men sle ony best quicke
The for to saue it is foly
To truste heele in swych thyng sekырly

FOL. B 3^b

- [IV, 17] Si famam seruare cupis dum viuus honestam
ffac fugias animo que sunt mala gaudia vite
- What man desyryth for to haue
Grete worsche and his honour saue
The vanytees of this fekyll lyfe
He muste eschewe bothe man 7 wyfe
- [IV, 18] Cum sapias animo noli irridere senectam
Nam quocumque sene sensus puerilis in illo est
- My dere sone scorne no men in elde
That may nouȝt wel her bodyis welde
ffor in olde men ofte tymys is seene
Childryn wit . with outyn wene
- [IV, 19] Disce aliquid nam cum subito fortuna recedit
Ars remanet vitamque hominis non deserit vnquam
- Lere sum crafte my swete sone dere
ffor fortune faylyth ofte 7 doth but were
Thy catel may thou lese 7 skayle
But thy crafte wille newyr fayle

¹ Wanting in Ca and O.

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

[IV, 20] *Prospicito cuncta tacitus quod quisque loquatur*
Sermo hominum mores celat et indicat idem

Pryuyly thou here and se
 What thyng that men spekyn of the
 By her wordys thou may here and leve
 To knowe her wil 7 her manere

FOL. B 4

[IV, 24] *Hoc bibe quod possis si tu vis viuere sanus*
Morbi causa mali namque est quicumque voluptas

Also moche as resoun wille assente
 Thou drynke and no more or thou be shente
 ffor glotony certys in al degre
 Sleeth men with her cruelte

[IV, 27]¹ *Discere ne cesses cura sapiencia crescit*
Rara datur longo prudentia temporis vsu

Lere faste sum wit with stodiying
 Thwr3h diligence wit is ay growyng
 And seldyn thwr3h deligence may no man be
 Parfite in wit and propirte

[IV, 26]¹ *Tranquillis rebus que sunt aduersa caueto*
Rursus inaduersis melius sperare memento

The thing that is of ille manere
 Eschewe and come thou nouzt hem nere
 They thou haue woo in thy departyng
 It shal the turne to eseful thyng

[IV, 25]¹ *Laudaris quodcumque palam quodcumque probaris*
Hoc inde ne rursus leuitate crimine dampnes

Preyse but with mesure no thyng on lyue
 ffrende ne fo ne man ne wyue
 ffor the shal happe with oute drede
 That thou shalt knowe who hylpe at nede

¹ These distichs follow in the right order in Ca. Distich IV, 28, is not in Co, but is found in Ca (CXXXII) and O (129).

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

FOL. B 4^b

[IV, 32]

Cum fortuna tua rerum tibi displicet vni
Alterius specta quo sis discrimine prior

Ȝif ony caas or ille auenture
Happyth to the thwrȝh thy foly pure
Worche so and do so besely
That thou amende it hooly

[IV, 34]

Contra hominem justum noli contendere praue
Semper etenim deus iniustas vlcitur iras

Aȝeyn men that lyuyn ryȝtwisly
Debate thou nouȝt dispetously
On sweche debatours god wille sende
His wraththe . or that they hennys wende

[IV, 35]

Areptis opibus noli merere dolendo
Sed gaude potius si te contingat habere

Thawȝ thou haue lost a grete party
Of thy goode . be nouȝt sory
But haue grete ioye of the remenand
That is lefte be hynde with the dwelland

FOL. B 5

[IV, 41]

Dampnaris nunquam post longum tempus amicum
Mutauit mores sed pugnora¹ prima memento

My dere sone for old specialte
Suffre the man that was preue
With the . in oolde company
Thawȝe that he do the sum foly

FOL. B 5^b

[IV, 43]

Suspectus caueas ne sis miser omnibus horis
Nam tumidis ⁊ suspectus aptissima mors est

If men supposyn that thou art ille
To fordo that . thou sette the sum whyle
ffor synne sertys apeyrith vs here
And brynggyth oure bodyis soone on bere

¹ Sic MS!

STUDIES IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

[IV, 45] *Dampnaris nunquam post longum tempus amicum*
Mutauit mores sed pugnora¹ prima memento²
 Thou shuldist nouzt lacke to hastely
 Noo thyng . and loo resoun why
 ffor ofte sum lyztnes myzt the take
 That thou haddist preisid . thou shuldist *after* lacke

[IV, 46] *Morte repentina noli gaudere malorum*
ffelices obiunt quorum sine crimine vita est
 Haue thou no ioye ne grete lykyng
 To se men deye for evil lyuyng
 ffor thawze men lyuyn ryzt worshiplye
 At the ende nedys muste they dye

[IV, 47] *Cum tibi sit coniu[n]x nec res ⁊ fama labore*
Uitandum ducas inimicum nomen amici
 If thy frende telle the of thy wyfe
 That her brotyl fame is ryfe
 Blame nouzt thy wyfe til that thou be
 More enformyd of the certaynyte

FOL. B 6

Cum tibi contigerit studio cognoscere multa
ffac discas multa vita nescire doceri
 Thwzgh diligence vsage and stodyng
 3if thou be wyse and kan grete thyng
 Vse thy vertuys and ensample be
 To men that louyn propirte

[IV, 49] *Miraris verbis nudis me scribere versus*
Hec breuitas sensus fecit coniungere binos
 Of my versys haue thou no ferly
 That y hem wrote so nakydly
 But certys my shorte wit made it
 That tweyne ⁊ tweyne to gedyr .y. knyht
 Thus endith this book al and sum
 That in englyshe ys clepyd caton.

¹ *Sic.* MS!

² Erroneous repetition of distich IV, 41, instead of IV, 45, which is, however, duly rendered by the English stanza.

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

Most medieval authors had a very high opinion of the educational value of Cato's distichs; John of Salisbury says in his *Policraticus* (VII, 9, ed. C. C. I. Webb [Oxford, 1909], II, 125):

In libello quoque quo paruuli initiantur ut uirtutis instructio et usus teneris ebibitus animis facile nequeat aboleri (quoniam et testa diutius seruat odorem eius quo semel est imbuta recens) ait uel Cato uel alius (nam auctor incertus est):

Multa legas facito, perlectis perlege multa.

Three hundred years later, Caxton, when translating a French prose version of the distichs, thought them sufficiently potent to change the evil ways of the nation:

And as in my Jugement it is the beste book for to be taught to yonge children in scole/ & also to peple of euery age it is ful conuenient yf it be wel understanden/ And by cause J see that the children that ben borne within the sayd cyte encrease/ and prouffyte not lyke theyr faders and olders/ but for the moost parte after that they ben comen to theyr parfight yeres of discrecion/ and rypenes of age/ how wel that theyre faders haue leftte to them grete quantite of goodes/ yet scarcely amonge ten two thryue/ J haue sene and knowen in other londes in dyuerse cytees/ that of one name and lygnage successyuelly haue endured prosperously many heyres/ ye a V or VI honderd yere/ and somme a thousand/ And in this noble cyte of london/ it can vnnethe contynue vnto the thyrd heyr or scarcely to the second/ O blessyd lord whanne J remembre this J am al abasshyd/ J can not Juge the cause/ but fayrer ne wyser ne bet bespoken children in theyre yougthe ben nowher than ther ben in london/ but at their ful ryping ther is no carnel ne good corn founden but chaff for the moost parte/ J wote wel there be many noble and wyse/ and proue wel & ben better and rycher than euer were theyr faders/ And to thende that many myght come to honoure and worshyppe/ J entende to translate this sayd book of cathon/ in whiche J doubte not/ and yf they wylle rede it and vnderstande they shal moche the better conne rewle them self ther by/ For among all other bookes this is a synguler book/ and may wel be callyd the Regyment or gouernaunce of the body and sowle.¹

An outward sign of this popularity is the frequency with which the *Dicta* keep occurring in medieval schoolbooks, where the text is often annotated as in the *Catho cum glosa et mora-*

¹ William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton* (London, 1861), I, 169.

lisatione printed in 1494 *per Conradum Kacheloffen* in Liptzk.¹ Thus the Middle English poets probably made their first painful acquaintance with the Latin work as boys, though Gower quotes it only in Anglo-French in his *Mirour de l'Omme*; it is mentioned neither in his Latin *Vox Clamantis* nor in his English poem *Confessio Amantis*. But Chaucer refers several times to *Catoun*, and as the final couplet of the version printed above shows, this form of the title does not prove that he knew the work in a French version.²

On the other hand, it is almost impossible to decide from Chaucer's quotations of the *Dicta* whether he used the original or an English translation.³ There is, however, one case where his wording bears a striking resemblance to the present English version, as will be seen when the Merchant's remark (E 1377) is compared first with the Latin distich III, 23 (from the Copenhagen MS) and the English text in the Cambridge and Oxford MSS:

<i>Suffre thy wyues tonge as Caton bit</i>	<i>Uxoris linguam si frugam est ferre</i> <i>memento</i>
She shal comande / and thou shalt suffren it.	Namque malum est non velle nec posse tacere
CAMBRIDGE MS	OXFORD MS

*Suffre þi wife sum time, þow sche
þe speke wordis of perplexite;
For it is hard þing of þi wille
If þou ne suffre ne holde stille.*

*Euyl it is, leue me well,
Nothir to suffre ne holde the styll.*

¹ This is the *Catho moralisatus* quoted above and apparently also found (in an abbreviated form) in a thirteenth-century MS, No. 436 in the Library of Amiens (*Cat. Gén. des MSS des Bibl. Publ. de France*, Vol. XIX, No. 213) and possibly in No. 394 in Bibl. de l'Arsenal (*Catalogue par H. Martin*, I, 259). For another commentary see Hauthal's ed., p. xiii, and cf. A. Molinier, *Cat. des MSS de la Bibl. Mazarine*, No. 3794; also Warton's *Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, II, 166 ff., and Wylie, *Henry IV*, III, 525.

² Thus Fiedler in *Archiv*, II, 396, and cf. Goldberg's dissertation, p. 63, but see Skeat, V, 420; VI, 385.

³ Cf. B 4130 and G 688 with the foregoing paraphrases of II, 31, and I, 17. In F 773, Chaucer also appears to use Cato (without mentioning him by name; cf. Skeat, V, 388), while in H 325 and 332 he seems to have found his Cato quotations in Albertano de Brescia (as in *Melibeus*; cf. Skeat, V, 210 and 442).

"HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE"

There is some similarity here between E 1377 and the first line of the Cambridge version, but this is changed to absolute identity when we turn to the Copenhagen MS:

*Suffre thy wyuis tunge sum whyle
Thaw3 she speke sum thyngis vile
For it is hard gif thou ne may
Suffre ne hoolde the stille in sum way.*

Such a very close parallel surely makes Chaucer's knowledge of the present ME *Caton* probable rather than possible.

However, he must also have known the Latin original rather well, even though the amusing couplet (A 3227) in the "Miller's Tale" is not really taken from Cato, as it professes to be:

He knew nat Catoun/ for his wit was rude
That bad/ *man sholde wedde his simylytude.*

Since Tyrwhitt's time the source of this is supposed to have been the following lines:

*Duc tibi prole parem moremque vigore venustam,
si cum pace velis vitam deducere iustam.*¹

They are taken from a medieval poem in rhymed hexameters, which proclaims itself a supplement to Cato and is generally entitled *Facetus*; it begins:

*Cum nihil utilius humanae credo salutis,
quam morum novisse modos et moribus uti,
Quod minus exsequitur morosum dogma Catonis,
supplebo pro posse meo monitu rationis.*

It is certainly not impossible that Chaucer may have regarded such a poem as written by Cato, for medieval textbooks often brought a selection of the easier Latin authors like Theodulus and Avianus, and a MS with glossed texts from the second half of the fourteenth century, Besançon No. 534, contains besides

¹ No. 37 in the ed. by Carl Schroeder, "Der deutsche Facetus," p. 16 (*Palaestra* [Berlin, 1911], No. 86); Tyrwhitt quotes *sponsam moresque* for *moremque vigore*; see note in his ed., IV, 238; cf. Skeat, V, 98. There are really at least two collections of this kind, both known as *Facetus* (see Schroeder, *op. cit.*, p. 3), superseding Zarncke in *Verhandlungen der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1863), XV, 23.

these authors and several others, both Cato and *Facetus quem mag. Jo. de Garlandia composuit*.¹

But Chaucer was perhaps rather thinking of a *dictum* more closely resembling his own, ascribed to the philosopher Cleobolus in the sixth chapter of Walter Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*:

Uxorem ex paribus ducere, nam si ex maioribus duceris dominos habebis cognatos.

This way of justifying the common sentiment rather reminds one of Chaucer's own continuation in A 3229:

Men sholde wedden after hir estaat

though the Miller goes on to apply it in his own manner:

ffor youthe and elde is often at debaat!

Burley's popular work is likely to have been known to Chaucer in one form or another;² it is extremely possible, then, that in some MS a saying like this was included in an anonymous series of *sententiae* following the distichs of Cato and so naturally attributed to him by Chaucer. In the collection *Disticha Diversorum* (ed. Salmanticae, 1593) we actually find Cato's distichs succeeded by certain *Dicta Insignia Septem Sapientum (!) Graeciae*, some eighty short prose sayings, the last of which is:

Vxorem ducito ex æqualibus.

This is followed first by another collection of distichs and then by *Disticha Faceti*, among which we find (fol. C 8b):

A fumo stillante domo nequam muliere
Te remoue: tria sunt quæ possunt valde nocere.
Duc tibi comparem morum sponsamque venustam,
Si cum pace velis vitam deducere iustam.

¹ *Cat. Gén. des MSS des Bibl. Publ. de France*, XIX, 214; cf. Hauréau in *Notices et Extraits des MSS*, Vol. XXVII, Part II, p. 15; see also Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, I, 464, 543, 558.

² Ed. H. Knust, Tübingen, 1868 (*Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, No. 177, p. 44); see about Chaucer's probable use of the work in his *Tales*, D 180 and 323, R. Steele in *The Library* (1920). For Burley, see P. Lehmann in *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, IV, 624.

“HE KNEW NAT CATOUN FOR HIS WIT WAS RUDE”

Here we find in the third line the direct or indirect source of the Miller's remark about the Carpenter, while the Wife of Bath's husband may perhaps have thought of the first lines rather than of the Proverbs of Solomon, when rashly affording his wife the opportunity of a curtain lecture (D 278):

Thow seyst that dropping houses and eek smoke
And chidyng wyues maken men to flee
Out of hir owene houses a benedicitee
What eyleth swich an old man for to chide!

LE RIRE DU PROPHÈTE

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Dans le poème latin généralement connu sous le nom de *Vita Merlini* et qui date du milieu du XII^e siècle on raconte, entre beaucoup d'autres choses souvent fort bizarres mais pour le moment d'une importance secondaire, l'épisode que voici :

Merlin, roi des Gallois du Sud (Demetae), a perdu la raison à la suite de la mort de trois de ses amis intimes ou, si l'on préfère une autre interprétation du texte,¹ de ses propres frères. Dans sa démence il se retire dans la forêt où il mène la vie d'un sauvage. On finit par le forcer à se rendre à la cour du roi Rodarchus, mari de sa sœur. Il est triste et ne désire que retourner à la forêt. Pour l'en empêcher, le roi le fait lier : alors, plongé dans une profonde mélancolie, il ne dit plus mot.

Un jour il aperçoit le roi qui, plein d'affection, détache une feuille des cheveux de la reine, et il éclate de rire. On lui en demande le motif, mais il refuse d'en rien dire, à moins qu'on ne le mette en liberté. Ayant été délié, il explique que la feuille en question s'était prise aux cheveux de la reine lors d'un rendez-vous qu'elle vient d'avoir avec son amant. Suit un épisode qui ne nous regarde pas ici. On finit par lui permettre de se rendre dans la solitude qu'il aime tant.

Pourtant, on le capture une seconde fois. Plongé dans une profonde tristesse, il refuse toute nourriture. Pour l'égayer un peu, on le conduit par la ville. Alors il aperçoit un portier, apparemment très pauvre, qui demande à haute voix qu'on lui donne quelque présent pour rapiécer ses haillons. A cette vue, Merlin se prend à rire. A quelques pas de là il voit un jouvenceau qui achète une paire de souliers neufs et en même temps du cuir pour pouvoir les rajuster quand ils en auront besoin, et Merlin de rire à nouveau. Le monarque, à qui l'on relate ce qui s'est passé, curieux de savoir la cause de cette gaité inattendue et inexplicable, lui promet encore une fois la liberté s'il veut bien la lui expliquer. Merlin ne se fait pas prier. S'il a ri du mendiant c'est qu'il savait que celui-ci avait enfoui assez d'argent sous la place où il était

¹ F. Lot, *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899-1900), 326, n. 7.

LE RIRE DU PROPHÈTE

assis. Il a ri du jeune homme prévoyant parce qu'il savait que cet homme se noierait avant même d'avoir porté ses souliers neufs. Le roi, fort désireux de vérifier cette prophétie, envoie sur les traces du jeune homme des messagers qui arrivent juste à temps pour le voir disparaître dans les flots de la rivière.¹

L'épisode de la reine adultère se retrouve dans le deuxième des fragments de *Lailoken*,² ou, à vrai dire, les noms seuls diffèrent. C'est que le prophète s'y appelle Lailoken et le roi qui s'empare de sa personne est Meldred. Tout le reste de notre épisode se déroule à peu près comme dans la *Vita Merlini*. Le fragment en question forme partie d'une vie de saint Kentigern qui n'est pas venue jusqu'à nous mais qui est sans doute antérieure à celle dont Jocelyn fut l'auteur et qui fut composée entre 1175 et 1199.³

On n'est pas trop surpris de retrouver l'épisode de l'homme aux souliers dans le *Roman de Merlin* en prose française, dérivé, on le sait, d'un poème perdu de Robert de Boron.⁴ Il faut noter toutefois qu'ici le héros est encore enfant et que l'incident a lieu en route pour le camp de Vortigerne. L'homme aux souliers est un "vilain" en train de faire un pèlerinage et c'est à ses compagnons de voyage que Merlin explique son rire; c'est encore eux qui vérifient la prophétie. L'homme ne se noie pas mais tombe mort au milieu de la route. Suit un autre épisode dont la *Vita* ne sait rien. Merlin et ses compagnons voient l'enterrement d'un enfant. Le père suit le petit corps en menant grand deuil. Alors Merlin éclate de rire et sur les demandes de ses compagnons leur explique que l'homme qui se croit père de l'enfant mort ne l'est nullement, que le vrai père est plutôt le prêtre qui chante. On vérifie encore cette prophétie et la trouve aussi correcte que la première.

¹ San Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin* (Halle, 1853), pp. 280 et suiv.; *The Vita Merlini*, by J. J. Parry (Urbana, Ill., 1925), pp. 46 et suiv. Sur la question de l'auteur et de la date du poème voir Parry, pp. 9 et suiv., et *Modern Philology*, XXII, 413.

² *Romania*, XXII (1893), 522-525; *Annales de Bretagne*, XV, 336 et suiv.

³ Voir la bibliographie d'A. Potthast, *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*, II, 1413.

⁴ *Merlin*, p. p. Gaston Paris et Jacob Ulrich (Paris, 1886), I, xiv, 48 et suiv.

Les différences entre les textes insulaires et celui de Robert sont assez considérables pour exclure définitivement la possibilité d'une filiation *directe*. Tout au plus pourrait-on admettre que Robert, connaissant l'épisode de la reine adultère et ne pouvant l'insérer dans le cadre de son roman, en ait fait un autre conte d'adultère, ou plutôt, vu son manque absolu d'imagination, qu'il l'ait remplacé par un épisode de fableau à lui connu.

Ce qui est certain c'est que le poème de Robert se répandit en Angleterre. Le poème moyen-anglais *Arthour and Merlin*,¹ composé probablement dans le Kent dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, répète les deux épisodes que nous venons de relever dans le roman français, en y ajoutant pourtant un troisième, tout-à-fait nouveau. C'est que le valet de chambre du roi est une femme déguisée en homme et dont la reine est éprise, la croyant tel. On verra de suite ce qu'il faut en penser.²

Dans le roman en prose française d'une rédaction postérieure et publié par H.-O. Sommer,³ dans le roman anglais également en prose⁴ et dans le *Livre d'Artus P*,⁵ autre compilation en prose, on retrouve les rires mystérieux du prophète mais dans un cadre tout différent. Il y rit à quatre reprises, à savoir (1) parce qu'une femme déguisée en homme l'a capturé par sa ruse (ce qui d'ailleurs n'est pas vrai, vu que dans ces textes c'est un cerf ou un sanglier qui le lui a suggéré), (2) à la vue de mendiants à un endroit où se trouve un trésor enfoui, (3) à la vue d'un écuyer

¹ Éd. E. Kölbing (Leipzig, 1890), pp. cxviii, 40 et suiv.

² C'est une partie du conte de *Grisandole* sur lequel voir L. A. Paton dans *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXII (1907), 234-276; voir aussi E. Brugger dans *Zeitsch. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXXIII², 60-63.

³ Publié à Londres en 1894; voir pp. 300-312; voir aussi H. O. Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (Washington, 1908), II, 281-292; H. Gelzer, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.*, XLVII (1927), 91 et suiv.

⁴ *Merlin or the Early History of King Arthur* (éd. H. B. Wheatley; Londres, 1865-1899), pp. 420-439.

⁵ Voir E. Freymond dans *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XVII (1895), 33; voir aussi P. Paris, *Les romans de la table ronde*, II (1868), 214 et suiv.

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qui frappe son maître sans le vouloir,¹ (4) parce que les douze dames d'atour de la reine (c'est la femme de Jules César) sont des jouvenceaux déguisés en femmes et ses amants. Inutile d'ajouter que tout cela est dûment vérifié et qu'on brûle la reine adultère avec les hommes coupables.

Passons maintenant à d'autres versions européennes de ce thème. Il faut mentionner d'abord un document scandinave, la *Hálfs Saga* islandaise, composée très probablement vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle.

Deux pêcheurs norvégiens avaient capturé un nix (*marmennill*) dont ils firent présent au roi Hjørleifr. Or, un jour, à l'occasion d'une rixe entre deux porteurs de cierges, l'une des deux femmes du roi profita de l'obscurité pour asséner un coup à sa rivale. Indigné, le monarque la frappe, mais elle en attribue la faute au chien qui était paisiblement couché sur le plancher. Alors le roi frappe le chien, et le *marmennill* de rire. Quand on lui en demande le motif, il répond: "Tu es devenu fou, puisque tu frappes celui qui te sauvera la vie." Plus tard le roi le fit remettre dans son élément, et il annonça une prophétie politique. A la fin un des hommes lui demande "Hvat er manni bezt?" c'est-à-dire, "Qu'est-il le mieux pour l'homme?" Et le *marmennill* de répondre: De l'eau froide pour les yeux, de la chair de baleine pour les dents, du lin pour le corps. Laisse-moi retourner à la mer: Personne ne me tirera plus au jour du fond de la mer dans le bateau.² Ajoutons que la prophétie ne tarde pas à se réaliser.³

L'épisode du *marmennill* n'est pas indispensable pour le récit de la saga, et M. Andrews a sans doute raison quand il suggère qu'on l'y a inséré parce qu'on aimait les prophéties dans les sagas.⁴ La question se pose s'il faut l'attribuer à des influences celtiques. Le regretté Moltke Moe y a répondu affirmativement en faisant remarquer le nombre de ressemblances les

¹ L'explication qu'on en donne dans le texte est tout-à-fait absurde et clairement due à une contamination avec le motif (2).

² Voici le texte norois: *Kalt vatn augum/en kvett tønnum/lérept líki/lát mik aprt í sjó/dregr mik engi/í degi síðan/maðr upp í skip/af mararbotnum*. La traduction du mot *kvett* est d'ailleurs loin d'être sûre.

³ *Hálfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka* (éd. A. Le Roy Andrews; Halle, 1909), pp. 82 et suiv. Sur la date voir *ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴ Andrews, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

plus frappantes entre les récits courant sur Merlin et l'épisode de la saga.¹ Il serait assurément malaisé de nier ces parallélismes et les conclusions qui s'en dégagent. Seulement, il faut observer que l'épisode du rire de Merlin ne nous est pas parvenu dans un seul texte norois. On ne connaît pas de traduction de la *Vita Merlini*, et quant aux *Bretasögur* et au *Hauksbók*, ils suivent de trop près l'*Historia* de Geoffroi qui n'en dit rien.² Il serait sans doute hasardeux d'en conclure que la *Vita* et avec elle l'épisode de Merlin fussent inconnus dans l'Islande médiévale, mais d'un autre côté les divergences entre les récits continentaux et anglais et le chapitre VII de la *Hálfs Saga* sont trop grandes pour nous permettre de supposer que ce dernier ait été calqué sur une des légendes de Merlin. Tout au plus peut-on admettre que de la *Vita* ou d'un texte parallèle le motif du rire du prophète ait pénétré dans le folklore islandais et de là dans la saga.

Qu'il en soit ainsi et que l'auteur de la saga n'ait guère fait œuvre purement littéraire, est prouvé par deux légendes islandaises modernes auxquelles il faut nous arrêter. En voici la première des deux.³

Un paysan a capturé un nix (marbendill), moitié homme, moitié phoque; mais il se refuse à dire mot. La femme du bonhomme le reçoit avec force caresses, et son chien aussi fait voir sa joie du retour de son maître. Celui-ci loue sa femme mais bat son chien, ce qui fait rire le nix. De retour à la maison, le paysan trébuche sur une taupinière et tombe et se met à jurer et à maudire la taupinière. Le nix se prend à rire une seconde fois, disant: "Le paysan est un niais." On le retient à la ferme pendant trois jours, au bout desquels le fermier reçoit la visite de quelques marchands ambulants qui lui offrent des souliers d'un cuir excellent. Il refuse pourtant d'en acheter parce qu'il le trouve encore trop mince. Le nix qui assiste à cette scène alors rit une troisième fois en disant gravement: "Bien des hommes se trompent qui se croient

¹ M. Moe dans *Norges Land og Folk*, XX (1906), partie II, p. 628 et suiv.

² Ni dans les *Bretasögur* ni dans le *Hauksbók* on n'en trouve le moindre vestige, contrairement à ce qu'en dit M. Andrews à la p. 13 de son livre.

³ Jón Arnason, *Isländische Volkssagen* (trad. p. M. Lehmann-Filhés; Leipzig, 1889-91), I, 65; Avenstrup-Treitl, *Isländische Märchen und Volkssagen* (Berlin, 1919), p. 55; voir aussi Moe, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

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pourtant intelligents.” Il se refuse obstinément à en rien dire de plus, à moins qu’on ne lui rende la liberté. Le paysan y consent à la fin, et le petit homme lui donne quelques conseils utiles. Quand le paysan lui demande les motifs de sa gaîté, il apprend que son chien qu’il a maltraité l’aime bien mais que sa femme lui est infidèle, que la taupinière est remplie d’or et que les souliers qu’il a refusé d’acheter lui auraient bien duré pour le reste de sa vie, puisqu’il n’a que trois jours à vivre. Sur quoi il se glisse dans l’eau; mais sa prophétie ne se réalise que trop tôt. De là le dicton populaire *á hló marbendill*, c’est-à-dire: et puis le nix rit.¹

L’autre variante islandaise présente à peu près les mêmes données, sauf qu’elle ne dit rien des marchands de souliers ni de la mort du fermier. Au contraire, le nix le bénit et lui fait don d’une vache merveilleuse.²

Examinons les diverses prophéties. La première, révélant la déloyauté de la femme nous est déjà connue grâce au fragment de *Lailoken* et à la *Vita*. Le chien fidèle ne s’y trouve pas, il est vrai, mais nous l’avons déjà rencontré dans la saga médiévale. L’épisode de la taupinière n’est évidemment qu’une modification du trésor enfoui des textes continentaux et anglais, et on peut en dire autant des souliers que le paysan islandais n’achète pas. A la fin, le nix ne se contente pas d’énoncer une vérité générale, comme il le fait dans la saga, mais il donne des conseils très spéciaux et qui se rapportent exclusivement au métier de son capteur, encore qu’on puisse se demander à bon droit si celui-ci en tirera de grands profits, vu la courte durée de sa vie. Il est donc impossible de faire dériver ces légendes modernes de la *Hálfs Saga*.³ Tout au plus pourra-t-on en voir l’influence pour l’épisode du chien fidèle.

Francisque Michel fut le premier, paraît-il, à proposer une origine orientale, voire hébraïque, de tous ces récits.⁴ Entre

¹ Voir aussi K. Maurer, *Isländische Volkssagen der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1860), p. 32.

² Arnason, *Icelandic Legends* (trad. p. G. E. J. Powell and E. Magnússon; Londres, 1864-1866), I, 103.

³ C’est là aussi la conclusion de MM. Andrews (p. 13) et Moe (p. 631).

⁴ *Galfridi de Monemuta Vita Merlini*, p. p. F. Michel et Th. Wright (Paris, 1837), p. lxxi.

autres, M. Gaster l'y suivit dans deux écrits, dont le premier ne m'a pas été accessible.¹ Alexandre Veselofsky² et Gaston Paris³ embrassèrent la même théorie, avec certaines modifications qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de préciser ici. Elle fut adoptée aussi par MM. Moltke Moe,⁴ F. Lot, Andrews,⁵ et Bruce,⁶ pour ne citer que les érudits considérés à juste titre comme les plus compétents en cette matière. Voyons donc ce qu'il en est.

Dans le Talmud on trouve la légende que voici :

Salomon, afin de se procurer un ver précieux, le *schamir*, dont il a besoin pour la construction du temple, envoie son chancelier Benajahu pour s'emparer par une ruse du démon Asmodée. En route pour Jérusalem, après la capture du démon, on rencontre un cortège nuptial menant grande joie, mais Asmodée se met à pleurer.⁷ Plus tard on rencontre un homme qui enjoint à son cordonnier de lui faire une paire de sandales à durer sept années, et le démon se prend à rire. Peu de temps après on fait la rencontre d'un diseur de bonne fortune assis sur une pierre, et Asmodée de rire à nouveau. Quand Benajahu lui demande la raison de son étrange conduite, il reçoit la réponse suivante: J'ai pleuré à la vue du cortège nuptial parce que je sais que l'époux mourra dans trente jours (var. et que la jeune femme devra attendre treize années pour contracter le mariage lévitique avec le cadet de son mari). J'ai ri de l'homme aux sandales parce que je sais qu'il mourra bientôt. J'ai ri du diseur de bonne fortune parce que je sais qu'il y a sous la pierre un trésor dont il ne se doute pas.⁸

¹ Moses Gaster, *Jewish Sources and Parallels to Early English Metrical Romances of King Arthur and Merlin* (Londres, 1887); *Folk-Lore*, XVI (1905), 407-427.

² *Salomon et Kitovras* (en russe), Saint Pétersbourg, 1872.

³ *Op. cit.*, I, xiv.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 620 et suiv.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁶ J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance* (Göttingen, 1923), I, 133.

⁷ L'alternance des rires et des pleurs indique clairement que nous avons affaire à un autre motif, très répandu lui aussi et très probablement d'origine indienne. Il a été discuté par M. M. Bloomfield dans *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVI, 69 et suiv.

⁸ F. Schnitzer, *Legenden aus dem Talmud* (Berlin, s.d.), p. 82; B. Kuttner, *Jüdische Sagen und Legenden* (Frankfurt a. M., 1920), I, 18. Comme on voit, le compilateur occidental n'a plus compris le motif du troisième rire. Dans la légende juive Asmodée rit d'un ignorant, dans les textes européens il rit évidemment de la stupidité des gens charitables qui se laissent duper par un imposteur; John D. Seymour, *Tales of King Solomon* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 116 et 130; Moses Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (London-Leipzig, 1924), p. 79. Voir aussi R. Eisler, *Orphischdionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1925), p. 106.

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Pour faciliter la comparaison de tous ces récits et pour faire une justice parfaite à la *théorie hébraïque* (comme on peut l'appeler à bon droit), il sera bon de faire un index des motifs rencontrés jusqu'ici. Le prophète rit donc :

1. parce qu'un époux affectionné croit fidèle une femme qui ne l'est pas [*Lailoken*, XII^e siècle].
2. parce qu'il voit un mendiant assis sur un trésor caché [*ibid.*].
3. parce qu'un homme dont la mort est imminente achète des souliers qui doivent durer pendant sept années [*ibid.*].
4. parce qu'un homme mène grand deuil à l'enterrement d'un enfant qu'il croit sien mais qui ne l'est pas [*Robert de Boron*, fin du XII^e siècle].
5. parce que le valet de chambre du roi est une femme déguisée en homme et que la reine s'en est éprise, la croyant homme [*Arthour and Merlin*, 2^e moitié du XIII^e siècle].
6. parce qu'il a été capturé par une femme déguisée en homme [*Merlin* en prose (éd. Sommer et Wheatley), *Livre d'Artus P.*].
7. à la vue d'un écuyer qui frappe son seigneur sans évidemment le vouloir [*ibid.*].
8. parce que les dames d'atour de la reine en sont les amants déguisés en femmes [*ibid.*].
9. à la vue d'un homme qui frappe un chien fidèle à cause d'une femme déloyale [*Hálfs Saga*, XIII^e siècle].
10. parce qu'un paysan maudit une taupinée remplie d'or [légende islandaise moderne].

De ces dix motifs le 10^e n'est évidemment qu'une modification du 2^e, en sorte qu'il n'est guère nécessaire de nous y arrêter. Par contre, il sera bon d'en ajouter deux autres, à savoir, le prophète part

11. en prononçant des vérités générales, plus ou moins banales [*Hálfs Saga*].
12. en donnant des conseils d'une nature très partique [légende islandaise moderne].

Tout cela on pourrait l'appeler, ainsi que Gaston Paris le proposait, les *devinailles Merlin*,¹ sauf qu'il ne me paraît pas justifié d'y introduire le nom du prophète celtique *ante demon-*

¹ L'ouvrage de M. Alfons Hilka, *Neue Beiträge zur Erzählliteratur des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1913), et qui cite d'autres parallèles de ces *devinailles*, ne m'a pas été accessible.

strationem et que j'ai jugé à propos de laisser de côté une autre devinaille, la prophétie qu'un certain individu mourra de trois morts différentes, quitte à l'examiner à une autre occasion. Mais pour retourner à la légende talmudique, on reconnaîtra aisément qu'elle contient les numéros 2° et 3°, tandis que le motif du cortège nuptial n'est pas sans analogie avec le no. 4°.¹ Elle ne nous fournit donc que deux ou, au plus, trois incidents d'entre les onze (le no. 10° n'a guère une valeur indépendante) qu'on a relevés en Occident. D'où il s'ensuit que la *théorie hébraïque* n'explique pas même un tiers du nombre total des incidents. Il faudra donc chercher d'autres parallèles.

Dans le *Tuti-Nameh* turc on trouve un conte qu'on n'a jamais, que je sache, mis en rapport avec la légende de Merlin.² En voici un résumé.

Un roi puissant avait un vazir fort intelligent, appelé Kâmbîn, et un grand nombre d'esclaves femelles, très jolies, dont une, nommée Kâmdjûi, se distinguait surtout par une beauté peu commune, c'est pourquoi son maître la préférait à toutes les autres. Un jour Kâmbîn était assis avec Kâmdjûi dans son jardin, au bord d'un étang, où les esclaves s'amusaient à pêcher. Tout-à-coup Kâmdjûi se voila en regardant de côté. Quand le vazir lui en demande le motif, elle lui fait observer qu'il se pouvait bien trouver un mâle parmi les poissons capturés et que sa chasteté ne lui permettait pas de se faire regarder par aucun mâle, ne fût-ce qu'un poisson. Alors tous les poissons éclatèrent de rire. Le bon vazir avait beau demander la solution de cette énigme à tous ses savants. A la fin on lui conseilla de consulter un jouvenceau qui comprend la langue des animaux. Or, ce jeune homme, dont le nom est Ibn-el-Ghaib, c'est-à-dire fils de l'obscurité, est comme Merlin un enfant sans père. C'est que son grand-père, le marchand Djewher-Schinâs, avait mis en poudre un crâne dont il avait été prédit qu'à cause de lui 80 hommes périraient. L'unique fille de Djewher-Schinâs avait mangé de cette poudre et en avait conçu un fils, ce même Ibn-el-Ghaib, qui ne tarde pas à découvrir au vazir que chacune de ses 40 esclaves, y compris Kâmdjûi, tient caché un jeune homme son amant. Le vazir trouve les coupables et les fait périr avec les femmes adultères.

¹ C'était aussi l'avis de Miss Paton; voir la p. 258 de son ouvrage.

² *Tuti-Nameh*. Das Papageienbuch. Nach der türkischen Fassung übersetzt von Georg Rosen (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, s.d.), pp. 258 et suiv.

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Comme on voit, ce récit se compose de deux contes nettement distincts, à savoir, l'histoire des poissons qui rient et la légende de la naissance miraculeuse d'Ibn-el-Ghaib. L'habileté peu ordinaire que le conteur a mise à les fusionner ne doit pas nous tromper sur ce fait fondamental, qui est prouvé d'ailleurs par l'existence séparée de chacun des deux. Quant au premier, il n'est point nécessaire de m'y attarder, vu que Miss Paton en a parlé à la longue.¹ Qu'il suffise d'indiquer au lecteur que ce conte est indubitablement d'origine indienne et qu'il se trouve dans le *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* de Somadeva aussi bien que dans bon nombre de recueils de contes modernes.² Ajoutons que dans tous ces textes c'est une jeune fille sagace³ qui explique au monarque la conduite étrange des poissons.⁴

On voit donc que le conte du *Tuti-Nameh* turc contient le motif (8) et que de ce motif au motif (1) il n'y a pas loin, vu que dans tous les deux le rire du prophète est occasionné par l'adultère d'une femme. En effet, la seule différence importante qui sépare les deux c'est que dans (1) le prophète rit de la crédu-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 241 et suiv.

² Tawney-Penzer, *The Ocean of Story* (Londres, 1924), I, 46 et suiv.; *Sukasaptati*. Das indische Papageienbuch. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von Richard Schmidt (Munich, 1913), pp. 13 et suiv., 27; Th. Benfey, *Orient und Occident*, I (1862), 346 et suiv.; Rosen, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 et suiv.; J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir* (Londres, 1893), p. 484; J. Jacobs, *Indian Fairy Tales* (Londres, 1892), p. 186; R. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.*, II, 605; C. H. Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (Londres, 1909), pp. 70 et suiv.

³ Sur ce motif extrêmement répandu voir Bolte-Polívka, *Märchen-Anmerkungen*, II, 349 et suiv.

⁴ Pour une hypocrisie toute semblable et qui elle aussi éveille les soupçons d'un prince doué de sens commun voir W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* (Saint Pétersbourg, 1872), IV, 426 et suiv.; *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, XVI, 114. Dans certain nombre de textes le rire des poissons a été remplacé par un songe que fait le monarque; voir Köhler, II, 602 et suiv.; Moses Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis* (Londres-Leipzig, 1924), Part I, p. 131. Le motif de l'homme qui se glisse dans le sérail d'un monarque oriental, déguisé en femme ou en eunuque, a toujours été un thème favori des romanciers, du temps de Térencia jusqu'aux *Lettres persanes*.

lité du mari, dans (8) de l'hypocrisie de la femme. Le texte turc occupe pourtant une position exceptionnelle, beaucoup plus importante que ne l'est celle des textes cités par Miss Paton, parce qu'on y trouve de plus (1) le motif de l'enfant né d'une façon miraculeuse, (2) qui fait à un monarque une révélation importante, (3) se rapportant à l'adultère de la reine. Le *Tuti-Nameh* est d'accord avec la version de Geoffroi de Monmouth même sur un motif secondaire, les avanies que le héros doit subir de la part de ses camarades de jeu à cause de sa naissance surnaturelle.¹ Le texte oriental, il est vrai, ne nous dit rien sur le motif de la Tour de Vortigerne, mais j'ai déjà fait observer ailleurs² que tout cet épisode n'a rien à faire avec Merlin et n'a été mis en rapport avec lui qu'après coup. Il est également certain que le conte de la naissance de Merlin tel que nous le trouvons chez Geoffroi et ses successeurs est essentiellement chrétien en tant qu'il repose sur la démonologie de saint Augustin. Il s'ensuit donc que tous ceux qui croient le cycle de Merlin d'origine pré-chrétienne, soit celtique, soit orientale, sont également forcés d'admettre soit que Geoffroi l'ait inventé de toutes pièces, soit—et c'est infiniment plus logique et plus vraisemblable—en ait couvert un autre épisode, beaucoup plus païen et tout-à-fait choquant aux sensibilités d'un public chrétien. Jetons donc un coup d'œil sur la légende du crâne. Je commence par le texte du *Tuti-Nameh*.

Au pays de Yemen vécut un marchand, Djewher-Schinâs, qui n'avait qu'une fille. Se promenant un jour dans les champs, il se heurta à une tête d'homme. Il la ramassa et la regarda. C'était un crâne desséché qui portait sur son front les paroles suivantes: En vie ce crâne a fait périr 80 hommes; longtemps après sa mort il en fera périr 80 autres. On connaît déjà le reste.

¹ Qu'on compare: *Galf. Monm.* (éd. San Marte), p. 89: *Denique cum multum diei praeterisset, subita lis orta est inter duos juvenes, quorum Merlinus atque Dabutius nomina erant. Certantibus ergo ipsis dixit Dabutius ad Merlinum: Quod mecum contendis, fatue? numquam nobis eadem erat nobilitas.* Rosen, p. 258: "Wenn du auch um meinen Ursprung weisst, so kennt ihn doch der grosse Haufe nicht; man neckt und höhnt mich als ein vaterloses Kind."

² *Revue celtique*, XLI (1924), 181-188; XLIII (1926), 124-131.

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Dans un conte syrien moderne¹ un pèlerin trouve dans un crâne de mort un coquillage qui lui parle et qu'il ramasse. Sa sœur le met dans sa bouche et en devient enceinte d'une espèce de Petit Poucet qui a le don des prophéties—comme Merlin—et qui sait non seulement interpréter les songes d'un pacha mais les connaît même avant de les avoir appris. Amené devant le pacha, il lui interprète son rêve;² c'est qu'un nègre hideux, l'amant de la femme du pacha, se tient caché dans son sérail. Une variante arabe, provenant d'Égypte raconte ceci:

Un Juif pieux et sage conçoit des doutes au sujet du dogme de la résurrection. Pour lui donner une preuve de sa puissance, Dieu lui fait rencontrer un jour quelques os décomposés et broyés, dont le Juif prend un et se met à l'émietter tout en s'abandonnant à ses doutes. Arrivé chez lui, il jette les restes sur le fumier; mais Dieu en fait pousser un arbre, dont la fille unique du Juif avale une feuille et s'en trouve enceinte. Désolé du déshonneur de sa fille, le père consulte le roi David, qui n'en sait pourtant pas plus long que lui. Mais heureusement Salomon se trouve tout près et se dispose à donner les éclaircissements nécessaires, quand le texte fragmentaire finit abruptement.³

On retrouve les mêmes données essentielles dans un autre récit égyptien moderne:

Deux savants trouvent une tête de mort sur la route, et l'un d'eux s'écrie: Ce crâne-là, de combien de choses il a été cause et de quelles aventures il sera cause encore. L'autre met en doute la vérité de la seconde partie de cette prophétie. Il ramasse donc le crâne et le calcine dans son four. Sa fille en avale et en devient grosse. Elle met au monde un garçon et une fille que le grand-père fait exposer tout de suite en les portant dans la mosquée. Le roi adopte la fille, l'imâm le garçon. Les aventures de la jeune fille ne nous intéressent pas ici, mais le garçon devient un érudit de premier ordre. Envoyé aux

¹ M. Lidzbarski, *Geschichten und Lieder aus den neu-aramäischen Handschriften der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Weimar, 1896), pp. 217 et suiv. Pour une autre version arabe, recueilli dans l'Iraq, voir René Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, I (Paris, 1924), 310.

² Ce rêve est essentiellement le même que celui d'un récit juif traduit par Gaster, *loc. cit.*

³ J. Oestrup, *Contes de Damas* (Leyde, 1897), pp. 25 et suiv.

Indes pour interpréter le songe d'un monarque indien, il découvre un nègre déguisé en femme au sérail du roi; c'était l'amant de la reine.¹

Le conte est même parvenu jusqu'aux tribus turques de la Sibérie méridionale:

Un vieil homme rencontre un crâne humain qu'il soulève avec son bâton. Deux hommes qui passent en ce moment lui disent: Vieux, ne te mêle pas de ce crâne, mais enterre-le: il causera la mort de 80 hommes. Loin de suivre ce conseil, le vieux l'emporte chez lui et le met en poudre. Sa fille approche son nez de cette poudre et en devient enceinte. Un garçon est né, fort intelligent et qui se fait moulla. A ce temps-là un brochet couvrit d'eau le prince de cette tribu et qui l'avait mis dans un bassin. Consulté sur ce phénomène, une femme observe que le poisson s'est ri de lui. En vain le roi consulte-t-il les sages de son territoire sur le motif du rire étrange. A la fin, il fait venir le héros qui lui révèle que ses 40 femmes ont autant d'amants déguisés en femmes de chambre. On met à mort les 80 coupables, et ainsi fut réalisée la prophétie.²

Comme ce récit fait mention d'un poisson qui rit, il est clair qu'il est plus proche du texte du *Tuti-Nameh* que ne le sont les autres qui parlent d'un rêve. Notre légende se répandit aussi en Europe, et voici le résumé italien d'un conte serbe, fait par le regretté Arturo Graf:

Un imperatore, cacciando, trova una testa di morto, e vi passa su col cavallo. La testa gli grida: Perchè mi calpesti? Benchè morta posso nuocerti ancora. L'imperatore la toglie con sè, la brucia, la riduce in polvere, e questa, involta in una carta, chiude in un forziere; poi parte. La figlia di lui, aperto il forziere, e trovata la carta, col dito umido di saliva raccoglie alquanto di quella polvere, e se la reca in bocca: ingravida miracolosamente e mette al mondo un bambino, di cui l'imperatore esperimenta ben presto la singolare sagacia.³ Temendo le minacce della testa, egli allontana da sè, quando è già divenuto un giovane, il nipote, dicendogli: Va per il mondo, e non fermarti se non quando troverai due mali alle prese fra loro. Il giovane parte, e giunge finalmente nel luogo dove sorse poi Costantinopoli, e quivi trova un biancospino intorno a cui si attorciglia un serpente per modo che l'uno punge l'altro. Parendogli d'aver trovato i due mali di cui sino allora era andato in traccia,

¹ H. Dulac, "Quatre contes arabes en dialecte cairote," dans *Mémoires p. p. les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire* (Paris, 1889), I, 96 et suiv.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 488 et suiv.; cf. F. Liebrecht dans *Gött. gel. Anz.* (1872), p. 1512.

³ Voir sur cet épisode *Folk-Lore*, XXXVI (1925), 187 et suiv.

si scosta dall'arbusto e dal serpe un certo tratto, poi si ferma, e voltandosi indietro vede che lungo tutto quel tratto era sorto fuor della terra un muro, il primo della nuova città. Più tardi il giovane diventò imperatore di Costantinopoli e rovesciò l'avo del trono.¹

Il a été fait observer récemment que cette forme de la légende est due à une fausse étymologie. C'est que les Slaves s'imaginèrent le nom de la ville dérivé du mot serbe *kost*, qui veut dire os.² La légende serbe que je viens de résumer est importante sous plus d'un point de vue. En premier lieu il importe de noter qu'elle repose certainement sur un texte byzantin perdu. En second lieu, tandis qu'elle ne dit absolument rien de la femme adultère et de sa punition, elle contient bien un autre motif fort bien connu de la légende occidentale de Merlin, le combat des serpents. Dans sa forme serbe, il est vrai, elle parle plutôt d'un combat entre un serpent et une aubépine, qui sont les deux maux, se détruisant l'un l'autre. Mais il y a lieu de regarder cette variante comme secondaire, d'autant plus qu'un texte byzantin encore extant souligne d'une manière on ne peut plus significative la destruction mutuelle des deux animaux qui personnifient les ennemis de l'Empire.³

Que le conte du crâne et de l'enfant né miraculeusement soit d'origine indienne comme l'est l'histoire des poissons qui rient, il est impossible de l'affirmer.⁴ Ce qui est certain c'est qu'au

¹ *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo* (Torino, 1923), p. 450; cf. A. Veselofsky dans *Russische Revue*, VI (1875), 183.

² André Mazon, *Contes slaves de la Macédoine sud-occidentale* (Paris, 1923), p. 169. Ajoutons qu'un écho de ce conte s'est trouvé même chez les Tchèques; voir J. Fricz et L. Léger, *La Bohême historique, pittoresque et littéraire* (Paris, 1867), pp. 344 et suiv.

³ Voir *Revue celtique*, XLIII, 126. F. Liebrecht crut même voir des rapports entre l'aubépine de la légende serbe et celle du conte de "Merlin et Viviane" (voir son article dans les *Gött. gel. Anz.* [1872], p. 1513); cependant, la base est trop fragile pour en déduire quoi que ce soit.

⁴ Ce qui est sûr c'est que la combinaison des deux thèmes est secondaire; voir Th. Benfey, *Kl. Schr.*, III, 75. Certains indices, qui sont loin d'être décisifs, hélas, parlent en faveur d'une origine juive du conte du crâne; voir Oestrup, p. 30. D'un autre côté il est bon de se rappeler la loi ancienne perse: "Si quelqu'un frappe l'os d'un crâne ou le crâne entier d'un corps, il sera puni comme s'il avait blessé un homme vivant"; voir *Farhang i. oim* 3c.

temps de la première croisade il a existé en Proche Orient un récit qui parlait de la naissance miraculeuse d'un enfant, récit beaucoup moins édifiant que ne l'est celui de Geoffroi. Cet enfant avait le don de la prophétie et révéla à un roi l'adultère de sa femme. Très probablement il prédit aussi l'avenir en interprétant un combat symbolique de deux serpents. Il s'agit donc dès à présent d'une importation orientale, c'est-à-dire byzantine, comme je crois l'avoir rendu probable dans mon étude sur le combat des serpents.

Ce complexus oriental-byzantin explique donc la devinaille (1) plus les motifs de la naissance miraculeuse et du combat des serpents, dont le premier se trouve d'abord dans Geoffroi, tandis que le second fait son apparition beaucoup plus tôt, dans la compilation de Nennius.

Disons maintenant quelques mots sur les devinailles (5) et (6), qui sont comme le pendant des récits orientaux précités en tant qu'il s'y agit d'une femme déguisée en homme. Miss Paton, qui a voué une étude approfondie à ces devinailles, a reconnu qu'il s'agit d'un développement du motif de la *Fille sagace* qui paraît maintenant déguisée en homme. Mais elle ne s'est pas aperçue que cette forme elle-même est secondaire et résulte de la fusion de la *Fille sagace* avec un autre conte, très bien connu lui aussi, celui de la jeune fille déguisée en homme et accusée d'avoir violé une femme. Je commence par résumer le 6^e conte de la 4^e journée du *Pentaméron*:

Une princesse tombe entre les mains d'un être surnaturel dont elle viole une défense. Elle est chassée, met des habits d'hommes et s'engage chez un roi étranger dont la femme s'éprend d'elle, la croyant homme. Irritée d'être éconduite par elle, à l'exemple de la femme de Potiphar, la reine la dénonce à son mari, l'accusant d'avoir voulu la séduire. Le roi la condamne à être pendue. Elle se sauve pourtant, grâce à un anneau que l'être lui a donné. Une voix se fait entendre qui révèle son sexe. Le roi reconnaît ses torts; il fait jeter à l'eau la reine perfide et épouse l'héroïne.¹

¹ Giambattista Basile, *Il Pentamerone* (trad. da Benedetto Croce; Bari, 1925), II, 185 et suiv.

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Un conte sicilien moderne est d'accord avec le récit de Basile :

Chassée de la demeure de l'être surnaturel, l'héroïne, nommée Zafarana, se déguise en homme et devient garçon d'étable d'un roi. La fille du monarque s'éprend d'elle et en fait son page; puis elle lui propose de l'épouser. Sur le refus de Zafarana, la princesse la dénonce à son père. Condamnée à mort, elle brûle les quelques poils de porc que l'être lui avait donnés. Il apparaît, révèle le sexe de la victime, fait mourir la princesse et épouse lui-même Zafarana.¹

Un troisième texte nous vient du Portugal :

Sur le conseil de son parrain saint Pierre, l'héroïne se déguise en homme et se met au service d'un roi. La reine lui fait les propos connus, puis l'accuse auprès du roi de s'être vantée de pouvoir accomplir certaines tâches difficiles. Elle réussit à les mener toutes à bonne fin. La révélation est l'œuvre d'une fille du roi, réputée muette; la méchante reine est mise à mort.²

Ce récit portugais ne laisse plus de doute sur la vraie genèse du conte de *Grisandole*, comme Miss Paton l'appelle. C'est qu'on a inséré dans une variante de ce type de conte,³ variante tout-à-fait semblable au texte portugais, l'histoire du prophète qui révèle la présence d'un ou de plusieurs amants de la reine, tous déguisés en femmes; c'est ainsi que la reine perfide amène sa propre ruine par les quêtes qu'elle fait imposer à son ennemie.⁴ Ajoutons que le conte en question a dû connaître aussi les rires mystérieux, puisqu'ils se trouvent dans presque tous les textes composés examinés par Miss Paton. C'est ce qui explique que ces rires y sont au nombre de quatre, tandis que le conte de fée non littéraire et non composé donne, on le sait, la préférence au nombre trois.⁵

¹ L. Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1870), I, 47 et suiv.

² Consiglieri Pedroso, *Portuguese Folk-Tales* (Londres, 1882), pp. 53 et suiv.

³ C'est une variante pareille mais qui ne disait rien des tâches imposées à la jeune fille calomniée, qui fut utilisée dans le roman anglais d'*Arthur and Merlin*. Pour cette genèse du conte, d'un type européen et indépendant, auquel on a ajouté le récit asiatique des amants déguisés en femmes au sérail du roi, je me trouve d'accord avec E. Kölbing, *op. cit.*, p. cxix.

⁴ C'est ce qui arrive dans bien d'autres contes populaires; comp. surtout le type 707 de l'index d'Aarne (Bolte-Polívka, II, 380 et suiv.).

⁵ Kaarle Krohn, *Die folkloristische Arbeitsmethode* (Oslo, 1926), pp. 100 et suiv.

La devinaille (6) souligne le fait que Merlin le sage est enfin capturé par une femme, et Miss Paton croit y voir l'écho de la fameuse légende de *Merlin et Viviane* qui fait son apparition dans les documents littéraires d'une époque assez tardive. Mais il y a lieu de se demander si ce que Miss Paton prend pour un écho ne fut en effet un point de départ. Pour résumer l'opinion de M. Sanesi,¹ qui me paraît très juste, après que le public médiéval se fut amusé à écouter les victoires du beau sexe sur Aristote, Hippocrate et Virgile (auxquels il eût pu ajouter Samson, Salomon, Constantin et le roi Arthur) le tour en vint très naturellement à Merlin.²

Quant à la devinaille (7), Miss Paton la croit d'origine celtique.³ C'est possible, encore que cela ne prouve rien pour l'origine du cycle de Merlin. Il est à noter pourtant que ce motif paraît appartenir lui aussi au monde des contes de fée et à un type international, bien qu'on n'en connaisse pas encore le pays d'origine.⁴

La devinaille (9) met en opposition le chien fidèle et la femme perfide. Le chien et les deux femmes du roi norvégien jouent un rôle fixé par le reste de la saga. L'épisode des prophéties ne fait donc que souligner ce contraste, et le fait assez épigrammatiquement. Or, le contraste en question—le chien mis en opposition à la femme qui "toujours varie," est un motif extrêmement répandu dans la littérature médiévale.⁵ Il vaudrait bien la

¹ I. Sanesi, *La Storia di Merlino* (Bergamo, 1898), p. xx; Bruce, I, 150.

² Comp. Paton, p. 266; ses arguments en faveur de sa thèse sont tout autres que probants. A la rigueur, si l'on n'accepte pas la genèse folklorique qu'on vient de lire, il vaut toujours mieux s'en tenir au récit ovidien (*Fastes*, III, 285 et suiv.), où le roi Numa s'empare de Faune en suivant le conseil d'Egérie, que d'opérer avec des légendes hypothétiques d'origine celtique.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Aarne, *Verzeichnis* (1910), type 593; comp. aussi P. Zaunert, *Deutsche Märchen seit Grimm* (Iéna, 1923), II, 92, 103; F. M. Luzel, *Légendes chrétiennes de la Basse-Bretagne* (Paris, 1881), I, 69; D. Roche, *Contes limousins* (Paris, 1908), p. 83.

⁵ *Gesta Romanorum*, éd. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), cap. 124; comp. p. 732; Johannes Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (éd. J. Bolte; Berlin, 1924), I, 251; II, 355; Köhler, I, 415.

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peine d'en chercher l'origine, tâche qui nous emmènerait beaucoup trop loin.

La devinaille (11) est sans doute la plus profonde entre tous.

“Hvat er manni bezt?” Question énigmatique,

worüber schon manche Häupter gegrübelt,
Häupter in Hieroglyphenmützen,
Häupter in Turban und schwarzem Baret,
Perückenhäupter und tausend andre
Arme, schwitzende Menschenhäupter.

Et qu'est-ce que le *marmennill* de la saga répond? Une série des platitudes les plus banales. Veut-il se moquer de ses capteurs? Regardons ailleurs.

Les paysans d'un village alpin s'emparent d'un homme sauvage par la ruse bien connue de la légende de Salomon, afin d'apprendre de lui l'art d'extraire de l'or du lait. Il promet de leur confier son secret pourvu qu'on le lâche d'abord. Sitôt qu'il se trouve libre il leur dit gravement: “Prends veste avec toi quand même il fait beau temps.”¹

Si je ne me trompe, la réponse du *marmennill* de la saga est du même genre. Mais d'où vient la question peu commune, assurément, et beaucoup trop philosophique pour être naturelle dans la bouche des pauvres marins norois qui l'ont capturé? Or, il est certes étrange qu'on ait dû poser une question analogue dans la légende ancienne de Midas et Silène qui nous a été conservée dans le traité de Plutarque *De Consolatione ad Apollonium*.² Le philosophe de Chéronée l'a trouvée, d'après son propre aveu, dans un écrit d'Aristote irrémédiablement perdu et qui était inconnu à l'Occident médiéval. Il est vrai. Plutarque ne nous dit pas expressément que le roi demanda au démon *τί τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθότατον ἔστιν*? Mais la réponse du satyre ne laisse pas de doute qu'il en était ainsi en effet.³ On sait que toute

¹ W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (1904), 97.

² Cap. 47; cf. E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 219; Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon*, IV, c. 505.

³ Trad. Amyot: “... Le meilleur à tous et à toutes seroit, n'avoir jamais esté: mais ce qui suyt après, et le premier de ce qui se peult faire, bien qu'il soit en ordre le second, c'est mourir incontinent après que lon est né.”

cette tradition est d'ailleurs beaucoup plus ancienne que les écrits d'Aristote.¹ Comment le motif est-il parvenu en Scandinavie, où il ne fut plus compris, ainsi qu'on l'a vu? Je crois qu'il s'agit d'une importation directe de Byzance, due à des croisés scandinaves.²

Le motif (12), le dernier, nous ramène aux traditions populaires. L'idée de capturer un démon, non pour se faire donner une leçon de philosophie schopenhauerienne, mais pour apprendre de lui quelques arts utiles pour la vie de tous les jours et pour l'économie agraire, est sans doute beaucoup plus ancienne que le dialogue de Midas avec le satyre. Ce qui est sûr c'est qu'elle se retrouve dans un grand nombre de contes oraux recueillis d'un bout de l'Europe à l'autre.³

On pourra donc dire qu'entre les douze devinailles il y en a une qui est d'origine classique, une autre qui est peut-être d'origine celtique, quatre ou peut-être cinq qui font partie du folklore européen; et toutes les autres sont des emprunts faits à Byzance ou au Proche Orient.⁴ Encore ne faut-il pas supposer l'existence, à Constantinople, d'un cycle épique bien organisé. S'il en eût existé, il n'aurait probablement pas disparu et il aurait fait sa migration en Europe en un même temps et à une même occasion, ce qui n'est jamais arrivé. Au contraire, plusieurs siècles se sont écoulés entre la migration du combat des serpents, utilisé par Nennius, et le conte de *Grisandole*, inconnu

¹ La question "Qu'est-il le mieux pour l'homme?" se trouve déjà dans un ancien livre de colportage grec, appartenant à la période pré-attique. Là c'est Hésiode qui la pose à Homère, et la réponse est identique à celle de Silène. Voir U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin, 1925), I, 95. Elle se retrouve dans la 2^e Olympiade de Pindare, vv. 21 et suiv.

² J'en ai trouvé depuis l'intermédiaire dans un poème irlandais perdu appartenant au genre des *teosc*. Voir mon étude "L'Origine irlandaise d'un épisode de la Hálfs Saga," qui paraîtra prochainement dans la *Revue celtique*.

³ Mannhardt, II (1905), 126, 150; A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), I, 34; O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, I (1907), 184.

⁴ Quant à la théorie de M. Gaster qui croit à une influence directe des écrits juifs sur les littératures médiévales, il méconnaît, hélas, l'épaisseur des murailles des ghettos.

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avant le XIII^e siècle et certainement pas antérieur au XII^e. Si l'on présume l'existence d'un tel cycle de contes, quelque peu cohérent qu'il fût, il faut tout de même qu'il ait été rattaché à quelque personnage historique ou pseudo-historique. Or les devinailles (2), (3) et (4) ne sauraient être séparées du nom de Salomon. De Salomon on racontait aussi la ruse de capturer le démon en l'ennivrant. Mais de Salomon—et c'est là un fait extrêmement important—on connaissait aussi les malheurs domestiques, la perfidie de sa femme et ses mille aventures pour s'en rendre maître.¹ On paraît même lui avoir attribué le conte des poissons qui rient; du moins en existe-t-il un écho dans le Proche Orient.² Il est donc naturel que le démon capturé ne se soit pas contenté, à Byzance, de rire des malheurs des personnes qu'il rencontre en route, tout en restant sérieux en la présence du roi qui se croit le plus sage des hommes et dont sa propre femme se moque. Que les Juifs aient supprimé beaucoup de ces contes, cela se comprend; après tout, Salomon était pour eux comme une idole nationale. Les Byzantins n'avaient aucune raison pour en faire de même, ce qui nous vaut la légende charmante de Salomon et Centauros.³

Une dernière question se pose: le motif des rires mystérieux, qui fait sa première apparition dans la légende de Salomon, est-il d'origine hébraïque ou bien indienne? Un récit du *Tripitaka*, compilation chinoise traduite du sanscrit par des missionnaires bouddhiques, raconte ceci:

Autrefois le Bodhisattva était un homme pur et croyant. Un jour, comme il traversait la place du marché, il aperçut un vieillard qui vendait des poissons

¹ F. Vogt, *Salman und Morolf* (Halle, 1880); Veselofsky, *op. cit.*, et *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, VI (1883), 393-411; 548-590.

² Veselofsky, *Archiv*, VI, 574; Hammer-Purgstall, *Rosenöl* (Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1813), I, 174.

³ Je dois donc dire que je suis arrivé à la même thèse que M. Veselofsky dans son grand ouvrage russe, quoique indépendamment. Il y a pourtant cette différence que le savant russe crut à une influence *directe* de la légende de Salomon, ce qui me paraît inadmissible.

au boisseau en se lamentant de la fin prématurée de son fils. En le voyant se conduire ainsi, le Buddha rit. Un moment après, il vit encore un grand porc qui avançait en se vautrant dans les excréments; le Buddha se prit à rire de nouveau. Ananda, son disciple, se prosterna et lui demanda le motif de ses rires. L'Honoré du monde répondit: O Ananda, mon rire a eu trois causes. Voici la première: j'ai considéré que la stupidité de ce vieillard était grande et générale; chaque jour, en disposant ses filets, il détruit la vie d'une foule d'êtres sans ressentir pour eux la moindre compassion; mais, quand son fils ignorant vient à mourir, il s'irrite contre tous les dieux; voilà pourquoi j'ai ri. Autrefois le souverain volant jouissait d'un bonheur très élevé; sa volonté devint arrogante et ses actes furent désordonnés; or maintenant il est le poisson qu'on vend au boisseau; telle est la seconde cause de mon rire. Quant au porc, c'est un sien voisin déréglé d'une existence antérieure qui est devenu cet animal infect en expiation de ses débauches.¹

Je pourrais multiplier les exemples tirés de la littérature hindoue. C'est inutile, vu que ce travail a été fait récemment.² On voit que le rire mystérieux est propre à un être surnaturel, le célèbre prophète et fondateur d'une des grandes religions du monde, quoique dans une incarnation antérieure, et qu'il repose sur la doctrine de la transmigration de l'âme. On comprend qu'en entrant dans le Proche Orient ce motif a dû se débarrasser de cet élément doctrinaire, ce qui fait qu'il a perdu de sa grandeur primordiale; car, tout compte fait, l'aventure d'Asmodée qui rit à la vue de quelques humains trop prévoyants est un peu banale et indigne d'un grand démon. Il a fallu le développement de la légende de la femme adultère de Salomon, elle aussi peut-être d'origine indienne, pour rendre au motif du rire mystérieux quelque chose de sa force primitive.

Que la légende de Merlin, tout imprégnée d'éléments orientaux qu'elle est, ait été développée en Occident surtout par des écrivains de sang celtique, on ne saurait le mettre en doute.

¹ E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka chinois* (Paris, 1910-1911), I, 236 et suiv.

² M. Bloomfield, dans *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVI (1917), 79 et suiv. Voir aussi Chavannes, I, 114 et suiv.; M. Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales* (Londres, 1880), pp. 114 et suiv.

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On peut se demander ce qui a fait aimer aux Celtes ces imaginations d'un caractère étrange, exotique? Est-ce la manifestation d'une affinité de sang qu'on a voulu découvrir à maintes reprises entre le génie hindou et le génie celte, tous les deux ouverts aux appels du mysticisme et tous les deux, par compensation, un peu cyniques? Ou est-ce plutôt l'amour inné aux Celtes pour les beaux contes qui leur a fait adopter avidement ces fictions orientales? Etant à moitié Celte moi-même, je suis enclin à croire que toutes les deux raisons y sont pour quelque chose.

SOMER SONEDAY

⊙

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The verses that form the subject of the present paper are preserved in MS Laud Misc. 108, from which they were printed more than eighty years ago by Sir Frederick Madden.¹ At the end of the text Sir Frederick placed a row of asterisks with the remark, "The poem ends imperfectly," but in this opinion he appears to have been mistaken. Folio 237, on which this poem is written, is the last leaf of the Laud MS, leaving out of consideration the fly-leaf added for the protection of the volume. The MS shows no evidence of the loss of any leaves following 237, and the appearance of the last page of the book, on which lines are here and there run together with some of the text crowded into the margin, suggests that the scribe was making an effort to complete the text of the poem in the available space. Moreover, as we shall see, neither the meter nor the content of these verses indicates that they end imperfectly.

As the print of this poem in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* is marred by some inaccuracies and occasional misreadings, I reprint the verses from an independent collation of the MS. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Mr. C. T. Onions for friendly assistance and valuable suggestions in dealing with some of the textual difficulties that these verses present.

HERE BIGYNNED SOMER SONEDAY.

(O)pon a somer soneday se I þe sonne
Erly risinde in þe est ende;
Day dawep ouer doune, derk is in towne.

4 I warp on my wedes, to wode wolde I wende

¹ *Reliquiæ Antiquæ* (ed. T. Wright and J. O. Halliwell), II (1843), 7-9.

SOMER SONEDAY

- Wip kenettes kene þat wel couþe crie & conne
 I hiede to holte wip honteres hende.
 So ryfly on rugge roon & raches ronne
 8 þat in launde vnder lynde me leste to lende
 And Lenede.
 Kenettes questede to quelle,
 Al so breme so any belle,
 12 þe deer daunteden in þe delle
 þat al þe downe denede.
- Denede dale & downe for dryft of þe deer in drede;
 ffor meche murþe of mouþ þe murie moeth made.
 16 I ros & romede & sey roon raches to-ȝede
 þei stalken vnder schawe schatereden in schade
 & Lordes lenged & ladies Leces to lede
 [Col. 2] Wip griþele grehoundes gode to game & glade
 20 & I cam to þe game þer gromes gonne grede
 & at a water wilde I wende ouer han wade
 þer was.
 I stalked be þe strem & be þe strond
 24 ffer I be þe flod fond
 A bot doun be a lond
 So passede I þe pas.
- So passede I þe pas priuely to pleye
 28 & ferde forþ in þat frith folk for to fynde
 Lawly longe I lustnede & vnder lowe lay
 þat I ne herde hond horn hunte hert ne hynde
 So wyde I walkede þat I wax wery of þe wey
 32 þanne les I my layk & lenede vnder lynde
 & als I sat beside I say, soþ for to sey,
 A wifman wip a wonder whel weue with þe wynde
 & wond.
- 36 Opon þe whel were I wene
 Merye men & madde I-mene
 To hire I gan gon in grene
 And fortune y fond.

15. *moeth*] A hunting term. See the *New English Dictionary*, "mote" sb.³: "A note of a horn or beagle."

16. *to-ȝede*] 'ran toward,' <OE *to-gán*.

18. *lenged*] this word is repeated by the scribe.

29. *lowe*] 'hill' <OE *hláw*; cf. *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, stanza 46.

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- 40 ffortune frend & fo, fayrest fere,
 ferli fals, fikel to fonde is ifounde:
 Þe whel 3e torneþ to wo, fro wo into wele þat were,
 in þe ronyng rynge of þe roe þat renneþ so rounde.
- 44 A lok of þat leuedy wiþ louelich lere
 Mi gode gameliche game gurtē to grounde
 Couþe I carpe carpyng creftly & clere
 Of þat birde bastons in bale me bounde
- 48 fful bowne
 Napeles ne mene I nat nay
 I wile ar I wende away
 Redy resons in aray
- 52 Radely to rounē.
- Redely to rounē rounes to rede,
 A loueloker leuedi liuiþ non in lond.
 I wolde han went wiþ þat whyt in worþlich wede:
- 56 So ferly fair of face tofore hire i fond,
 [Fol. 237^b] Þe gold of hire gurdel gloud as a glede.
 þat blisful burde in bale me bond,
 Or hire ly3th-heued in herte I hadde hede,
- 60 & wiþ a wonderful whel þat worþi wy[3]th wond
 wyþ mayn.
 a wifman of so muche my3th,
 so wonder a whelwry3th,
- 64 Sey I neuere wiþ sy3th,
 Soþ for to seyn.
- Soþ to seye, sitte I sey as my sic3the sente
 a be-gyngge gome gameliche gay,
- 68 Bryzt as þe blostme with browes i-bente
 on þe whel þat þe wy3th weuede in þe wey.
 Wyterly him was wel whan þe whel wente,
 ffor he layked & low, lenyng als he lay.
- 72 Loueliche lokyngges þe loueli me lente;
 A meriere man on molde monen I ne may
 In mynde.
 þe gome I gaf a gretyng:

45. *gurtē* 'hurled, cast.' See *NED*, "gird," v.²

67. *be-gyngge* ? by-going.

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76 He seyde, 'sestou, swetyng,
 þe crowne of þat comely kyng
 I cleyme be kynde.'

VERSUS

 Be kynde it me com
80 to cleyme kyngene kyngdom.
 kyngdom be kynde
 to me þe whel wile wynde.
 wynd wel, worþliche wyȝth,
84 fare fortune; frendene flyȝth,
 fflitte forþ flyȝtte
 on þe selue sete to sitte

 Sitte I say & seþe on a semeli sete,
88 Ryȝth on þe rounde on þe renny[n]g ryng,
 Caste kne ouer kne as a kyng kete
 comely eloped in a cope crowned as a kyng:
 Hey herte hadde he of hastif hete,
92 He leyde his leg opon liþ at his likyng;
 fful loþ were þe lordyng his lordsschipe lete;
 He wende al þe world were at his weldyng
 ful wyȝth.
96 On knes I kyþed þat kyng:
 He seyde, "sestou, swetyng,
[Col. 2] How I regne wiþ ring,
 Richest in ryȝth."

VERSUS

100 Richest in ryȝth, quen & knyth,
 kyng conne me calle,
 mest men of myȝth.
 fair folk to fote me falle;
104 Lordlich lif led i,
 no lord lyuynde me iliche.
 No duk ne dred i,
 for I regne In ryȝth as a riche.

79. com] MS *comeþ*.

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- 108 Of riche þenkeþ rewþe is to rede & to roune,
 þat sitten on þat semeli sete & seþþe Wiþ sorwe þoruout sout.
 And I beheld on hadde an heued hor als hor-howne;
 Al blok was his ble in bitere bales browth,
 112 His diademe of dyamans droppede adoun,
 His weyes were a-weyward wroþliche wrout,
 Tynt was his tresor tente tour & toun.
 Nedful & nawthi, naked & nawth
 116 I-nome.
 þat gome I grette wiþ griþ;
 a word he warp & wepte wiþ,
 hou he was crowned kyng in kip
 120 and caytif become.
 Be-comen a caytif a-cast
 Kyngus king couþe me calle
 ffram frendes falle
 124 lond luþe litel, lo! last.
 Last litel lordene lif,
 fikel is fortune, nou fer fro:
 Here wel, here wo,
 128 here knyth, her kyng, her caytif.
 A caytif he was become & kenned on care;
 He myste many merþes & meche maistri.
 Ȝeth I say soriere, likyng ful sare,
 132 A bare body in a bed, a bere I-brouth him by,
 A duk drawe to þe deþ wiþ drouping & dare.
 115. *nawthi*] cf. *Piers Plow.*, B, VI, 226.

The poem before us, it will be observed, is written in thirteen-line stanzas, with the insertion of two short *versus* of eight lines each, which are supposed to be sung by the king himself. Each of the thirteen-line stanzas except the last consists of eight long lines (*abababab*) followed by a "bob" and a "wheel" of four lines, of which the last rhymes with the "bob." This stanza arrangement is identical with that in the *Pistill of Susan* and agrees also—except in the matter of the "bob"—with the other alliterative poems edited by Professor Amours.¹

¹ *Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas* (ed. F. J. Amours; Scot. Text Soc., 1897).

The concluding stanza of *Somer Soneday*, however, presents an intentional variation from the other thirteen-liners. In this the poet gives us, instead of eight long lines and five short lines, eight short lines followed by five long ones, thus in effect reversing his usual stanza, and ending with a slow, dirgelike movement that fits perfectly with the melancholy scene described in the closing lines:

A bare body in a bed, a bere I-brouth him by,
A duk drawe to þe deþ wiþ drouping & dare.

This inverted thirteen-line stanza, we may be sure, was not the result of accident or of careless workmanship. Rather it is a conscious device used by the poet to increase the impressiveness of his sombre theme. Moreover, by thus inverting his measure, the poet serves notice on his reader that this stanza is to conclude the poem. The text of *Somer Soneday*, then, is complete as it stands: Nothing is needed to complete the sense, and nothing could be added without marring the effect.

Somer Soneday is the last of several poems written by the same hand at the end of the Laud MS, which was extended for this purpose by the addition of nine leaves, immediately following the text of *King Horn*, which ends on folio 228^a. The other pieces in this addition to the MS are the *Lives* of Saints Blase, Cecilia, and Alexius. These extra leaves were already bound into the volume at the time when these later pieces were written, for the scribe began copying the *Life of St. Blase* on the *verso* of the last leaf of *King Horn*. These three saints' lives were clearly intended by the scribe to supplement the *South English Legendary*, which forms the main contents of the volume. The date of the Laud text of *King Horn* is, in the opinion of Dr. Hall,¹ "not earlier than 1310 A.D.," while the date of the *Legendary* in this MS is given as "about 1290 A.D." The supplementary pieces (including *Somer Soneday*) are written, according to Sir Frederick Madden, "in a hand of the 15th century"

¹ *King Horn* (ed. Joseph Hall; Oxford, 1901), p. ix.

or, according to Dr. Hall, "of the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century."

An interval of more than a century between the earlier and later contents of a Middle English manuscript would be most unusual, although there are some instances in which a later scribe availed himself of vacant pages in an ancient book to copy wholly unrelated material. In the present instance, however, extra leaves were added to the book for the express purpose of appending material to the earlier collection of saints' lives. In other words, the Laud MS was still being used as a legendary at the time when the last nine leaves were bound into the book, although the archaic language of the Laud text of the *South English Legendary*, one might suppose, would not have been easily intelligible in the fifteenth century.

In these circumstances, I began to doubt whether the last nine leaves were written as late as 1400, and I referred them to Mr. H. H. E. Craster, of the Bodleian Library, for a paleographical opinion. After going over them carefully he pronounced the handwriting to be clearly that of the first half of the fourteenth century.

With this paleographical verdict the linguistic forms in the *Somer Soneday* will be found to agree. The following words, either in their form or their meaning, appear to belong distinctly to the fourteenth century: (4) *warp* (in the literal sense, 'throw'), cf. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 2025; (19) *griþele*, cf. *Morte A.* 187 ('graythely'), *Jos. Arim.* 88 ('greiþli'); (34) *wifman*, cf. *Ayenbite* page 11, line 1; (34 and 69) *weue*, 'move to and fro,' cf. *Lib. Desc.* 544, *Wm. of Palerne* 4368; (43) *roe*, (Lat. *rota*), cf. *Morte A.* 3374; (52) *radely*, cf. *Wm. of Palerne*, 41 *et passim*; (54) *louelokere* (comparative), cf. *Gawain and the Green Knight* 973; (59) *lyzth-heued*, 'levity, folly,' cf. Wyclif Bible, Jer. 3:9; (73) *monen*, trans. 'to remember,' cf. Robt. Brunne *Chron.* 4811; (89) *kyþed*, 'acknowledged, recognized,' cf. Chauc. *Anel.* 228; (124) *luþe* 'people, subjects,' cf. *lond and*

lip Havel. 2515, Robt. Brunne *Chron.* 15, 711, *Wm. of Palerne* (Skeat's Gloss.), *Antyrs of A.* 678 (and Amours' note).

The final *e*'s in *Somer Soneday*, so far as one can judge from the rhymes, appear in almost every case to have been pronounced.¹ On the other hand, there is a complete absence of the final *e*'s that were so freely added by scribes, after 1400, in the first and third persons singular of strong preterits.

The dialect of *Somer Soneday* is clearly that of the West Midland. For the southern participial forms *risinde* (2) and *lyuynde* (105) the scribe may have been responsible. It is to be noted that these *-inde* forms appear regularly in the *Lives* of St. Blase and St. Alexius copied in the Laud MS by the same scribe.²

Our verses agree with the Gawain poems in alliterating *wh:w*, but in other respects they give evidence that they belong to a district farther south—perhaps to Cheshire or even to Shropshire.³ In the Gawain poetry *qu* < OE *hw* is of frequent occurrence, but is not found in our poem; in the Gawain poetry again OE *ā* is frequently retained, whereas in our poem the only case of this is *sare* (131), where it may be a concession to rhyme; instead of *aw*, which is regularly retained in the Gawain poetry, our poem shows *ow*. The form of the feminine pronoun, instead of *ho* and *sho* as in the Gawain poetry, appears as *ȝe* (42), cf. *ȝhe* in *William of Palerne* (141). Finally, our poem contains no instance of the northern verbal inflexions which abound in the Gawain poems. On the whole, then, one would conclude that the dialect is more closely related to *William of Palerne* or to *Piers Plowman* than to the Gawain poems.

¹ The only exception that I have noted is the rhyme-series, *pleye* (inf.):*lay:wey:sey* (inf.).

² See the text of *St. Blase* (E.E.T.S.; Or. Ser. 87), and *St. Alexius* (E.E.T.S.; Or. Ser. 69).

³ Shropshire is suggested by the pret. *gloud* (57) and the plur. *kyngus* (122), but this evidence is too slight to have much significance.

The character of the linguistic evidence above presented, in its bearing on the date and provenance of the poem, necessitates a new interpretation of its theme. *Somer Soneday* almost certainly refers to the downfall and death of an English king, and the suggestion made by Sir Frederick Madden that the king in question was Richard II has been currently accepted. But in view of the evidence that the poem was composed in the West Midlands in the fourteenth century we must now interpret it as referring to Edward II.

In Wales and the counties along the border the loyal attachment to the ill-fated Edward continued even after his deposition.¹ Moreover, the horrible circumstances of his assassination shocked many who had opposed him while he was king, and made him remembered as a pathetic figure. "His misfortunes," says Professor Tout, "had so far caused his errors to be forgotten, that it was much debated by the people whether, like Thomas of Lancaster, he had not merited the honour of sanctity. The Welsh, among whom he was always popular, kept green the memory of his fate by mournful dirges in their native tongue."² As authority for this statement Professor Tout refers to Walsingham, whose exact words are as follows:

Wallenses hunc coluerunt, dilexerunt, et eidem, quantum poterant, adhæserunt, vices ejus tam in vita quam morte dolentes, et cantilenas pro eo lugubres lingua patria componentes, quas usque præsens ab eorum memoria nec metus adversantium nec diuturnitas temporum abolevit.³

If such songs commemorating the fate of Edward were sung by the Welsh it would not be strange if others were composed in English by those living near the Welsh border. And *Somer Soneday*, as the dialect shows, was written in that section of England where the friendly feeling toward Edward was strong

¹ Edward II, it will be remembered, was born in Wales and held the title of Earl of Chester.

² Article on Edward II in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Thos. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (ed. "Rolls Ser."), I, 83.

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and continued longest. The author of these verses, to be sure, does not speak as a professed partisan of the unfortunate king. He moralizes upon his fate instead of condemning those who slew him. But it is noteworthy, on the other hand, that he refrains from blame and conveys no suggestion that the fall of the king was the direct consequence of his own misgovernment. The tone of the poem on the whole is one of sympathy and pity.¹

Moreover, it is interesting to compare the king's laments over the reverses of fortune in *Somer Soneday* with similar expressions in an Anglo-Norman poem² composed by the unfortunate king himself after his enemies had thrown him into prison:

- 1 En tens de iver me survynt damage,
Fortune trop m'ad traversé:
Eure m'est faili tut mon age.
Bien sovent l[e]ay esprové:
- 5 En mond n'ad si bel ne si sage,
[Ne] si curtois ne si preysé,
Si eur(e) ne lui court de avantage
Que il ne serra pur fol clamé.
.....
- 43 Jeo solay estre tant cremu,
Ore me vont toutz despisant:
L'em m'apele 'rois abatu,'
- 46 Et tut le secle me veit gabant;
.....
- 65 Meintenant santz delay
Bien serroit tens de morir
A moy cheitif que perdu ay
Tutz honors sanz recuverir.
Allas! dolent! pur qei m'emay?

¹ I am at a loss to understand Professor Amours' characterization of our poem (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi): "'Somer Soneday,' a fragment of a poem on Fortune written in a burlesque vein; some lines read like a parody on the 'Awntyrs.'" To me there is far more grotesquerie in the *Awntyrs of Arthure* than in the straightforwardness and sincerity of this vision of Fortune.

² Paul Studer, "An Anglo-Norman Poem by Edward II, King of England," *Modern Language Review*, XVI, 34-46.

Though one would not wish to insist that these Anglo-Norman verses served as a definite "source" for the Middle English poet, the two poems exhibit striking similarities in tone and even in phrase.

Somer Soneday, then, it is agreed, was written to commemorate the fall and death of an English sovereign, and such evidence as we have lends support to the supposition that the ill-fated king whom it describes was Edward II. Accordingly, the composition of the poem is to be fixed between 1327, the date of Edward's death, and 1350, the later limit assigned to this portion of the Laud MS on paleographical grounds.

The resemblance of our poem to Arthur's dream of Fortune and her wheel in the Middle English alliterative *Morte Arthure* was noted a quarter of a century ago by Dr. Henry Bradley,¹ who suggested that this romance supplied the original source for *Somer Soneday*. The date of the *Morte Arthure* has not yet been very definitely determined, but Dr. Björkman,² its most recent editor, quotes with apparent approval the current opinion of scholars that it was composed around the middle of the fourteenth century, or perhaps about 1360. The two visions of Lady Fortune certainly show interesting points of similarity, amounting in one line to an actual parallel of phrase:

His dyademe was droppede downe dubbyd with stonys [*M.A.* 3296].

His diademe of dyamans droppede adoun [*S.S.* 112].

So far as chronology is concerned it would be possible to explain the resemblances between *Somer Soneday* and the *Morte Arthure* by supposing dependence on the part of the latter. Or it is possible that there was no direct dependence on either side, but that both authors borrowed phrases from the common

¹ *Athenæum* (Jan. 12, 1901), p. 52. Sir Israel Gollancz made the same observation later in the Introduction of his edition of *The Parlement of the Three Ages* (1915), p. iv, n. 2.

² *Morte Arthure* (ed. Erik Björkman), "Alt- und mittlengl. Texte" (Heidelberg and New York, 1915), p. xviii.

stock of alliterative poetic tradition. In view of the uncertainties that still exist in regard to the dates of these poems it will be safer to avoid putting forward any definite theory.

In his account of Arthur's dream of Lady Fortune the author of the English romance has varied notably from his French source,¹ particularly in his introduction of the Nine Worthies. In discussing the English *Morte Arthure* it is also to be noted that brief references to Fortune and her wheel are made in two other English romances—*Golagros and Gawane* (vss. 1220 ff.) and the *Awntyrs of Arthure* (vss. 270 ff.)—in passages that betray the influence of the *Morte Arthure*.² Moreover, in the *Awntyrs* one line presents an interesting phrasal parallel to *Somer Soneday*:

That wondirfulle whele wryght [*A.A.* 271].
So wonder a whelwry3th [*S.S.* 63].

Such an agreement in phrase, however, should not be pressed too strongly, especially in dealing with alliterative poems. If there was borrowing on either side it seems to me much more likely in this case to have been on the part of the *Awntyrs*, in which we have merely an allusion to Lady Fortune, rather than the sustained and vigorous description that is given in *Somer Soneday*.

Nor should it be forgotten, in seeking to solve the complications presented by these alliterative romances, that the figure of Lady Fortune and her wheel was one of the most familiar in medieval literature. Without citing examples from other languages, one might refer to the English quatrain (*ca.* 1325) written, it is interesting to note, on a roll containing the genealogies of English kings.³ The author of *Somer Soneday*, in describing

¹ For the most careful statement of the relation of the dream in the English *Morte Arthure* to its French sources see J. Douglas Bruce, *Mort Artu* (1910), p. 291; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI (1911), 69, n.; *Romanic Review*, IV (1913), 447.

² As pointed out by Professor Amours (*op. cit.*) in his notes on these passages.

³ Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century*, No. 42.

the wheel of Fortune and the king seated upon it, is following a venerable literary tradition. Nor does he give any hint of the Nine Worthies, which constitutes the most distinctive feature in the dream of Arthur according to the *Morte Arthure*.

The introductory portion of *Somer Soneday*, with its woodland landscape and hunting scene, follows a widespread literary tradition of which abundant examples in Middle English have been assembled by Dr. Helen Sandison.¹ A point of particular interest for us here is the similarity of the first lines of our poem to the beginning of *Piers Plowman*:

In a somer sesun Whon softe was þe sonne
I schop me into a schroud a scheep as I were.

It has hitherto been assumed that the opening lines of *Somer Soneday* are an echo of Langland's poem. In view of the prevalence of such conventional beginnings, however, it is possible that the resemblance in phrase may be wholly fortuitous. At all events, if any direct relationship existed between these two West Midland poems, the reminiscence would now seem to have been on the part of Langland, rather than of the author of *Somer Soneday*.

¹ Helen E. Sandison, *The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English*, "Bryn Mawr Coll. Monographs," XII (1913). She cites *Somer Soneday* on p. 31, n. 36.

EINE ENGLISCHE URKUNDE AUS DEM JAHRE 1470



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Die hier zum erstenmale veröffentlichte Urkunde aus meinem Besitz stammt zwar aus etwas späterer Zeit als die von mir im Jahre 1923 herausgegebenen *Mittelenglischen Originalurkunden*, hat aber ausser ihrem sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Wert noch eine besondere Bedeutung, weil sie im Verein mit den in meiner Sammlung befindlichen Urkunden 15. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 26 ein interessantes Stück einer Familiengeschichte, nämlich derer von Meverell, von 1445 an bis 1470 bietet. Daraus ergibt sich, als äusserer Rahmen, dass Jankin Meverell 1445 schon verstorben war und sein Sohn Sir Sampson Meverell, *knight* das Erbe des Vaters angetreten hatte (Urk. 15). Von diesem handeln auch die Urkunden 21 und 22. Wann er gestorben ist, erfahren wir nicht. Dessen Sohn Thomas Meverell, Squire wird zuerst in Urk. 21 erwähnt und auch die Urk. 26 wie auch die jetzt neu hinzugekommene handeln von ihm. Wir haben also drei Generationen: Grossvater, Vater, und Sohn. Letzterer lebte noch 1470.

Ausser Jankin Meverell, Sampson M. und Thomas M. kommt in einigen der oben genannten Urkunden auch ein John Meverell, Squire vor, der im Hause des John Rope schwer erkrankte (Urk. 17. 18) und 1446 (Urk. 19) als verstorben angegeben wird. Dieser John M. ist wohl ein zweiter Sohn des Jankin M. und jüngerer Bruder des Sampson M. gewesen.

Alle genannten Meverells sind, soweit sich aus den bisherigen Urkunden ergibt (21. 26. 19. 20), vorwiegend in Staffordshire, zum Teil auch in Cheshire begütert.

Die am 19. Mai im 9. Regierungsjahre Edwards IV verfasste Urkunde ist in das Jahr 1470 zu verweisen, da Edward IV im März 1461 die Regierung antrat. Die Urk. ("bille indented") ist eine "deed of release" bzw. eine "release" und besagt im wesentlichen das Folgende: Sie soll Zeugnis davon ablegen, dass William Basset, Squire, dem Thomas Meverell, Squire und dessen Erben sowohl alle seine Ansprüche auf Ländereien und Freigüter (lands and tenements) in Throle, Froddiswall, Coton und Melwicz in Staffordshire übertragen (has relested), wie auch alle Klagen und Prozesse (accyons) gegen Thomas Meverell bis zum letztvergangenen 27. Mai aufgegeben (das obige "has relested" ist zu ergänzen) bzw. zurückgezogen hat. Ferner, dass William Basset dem Thomas Meverell auch alle Beweisstücke (evidences), die auf die genannten Ländereien und Freigüter Bezug haben, übergeben hat (has delyvrt), indem er (W. Basset) einem Schiedsspruch (award) des Harry, Lord Gray hiermit Folge gibt.

Die Urk. ist in Blore ausgestellt, das laut Cassell's *Gazetteer* in Staffordshire liegt. Auch die übrigen in der Urk. genannten Ortschaften (Frodswall, Cotton, Milwich) liegen in derselben Grafschaft (siehe Urk. 21 meiner Sammlung). Der Name *Blore* ist in der englischen Geschichte berühmt geworden, da bei Bloreheath (Bloore Heath) die Partei der Lancastrians von den Yorkists in den sogen. Rosenkriegen 1459 geschlagen und König Heinrich VI zum zweitenmale gefangen genommen wurde.

Der Aussteller der Urkunde William Basset hat laut Urk. 26 meiner Sammlung schon in Jahre 1459 mit Thomas Meverell im Streit gelegen. Siehe auch Seite 10 meiner Urkundensammlung über ihn. Der in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* Erster Teil vorkommende Basset ist wohl sicher ein Glied dieser Familie.

Die Urkunde ist gut erhalten und nur an wenigen Stellen schadhafte oder unleserlich. Vom Siegel sind nur spärliche Reste erhalten, die Mitte ausgeschnitten. Die Schrift ist klein, aber

im ganzen deutlich. Die Abkürzungen sind die im 15. Jahrh. üblichen. Siehe Näheres darüber in den von mir und auch von Flasdieck herausgegebenen *Me. Urkunden*.¹ Bedeutungslose Schleifen bezw. Schnörkel finden sich nur an auslautenden *d* und *g*; ohne Bedeutung sind auch die durch *ll* gezogenen Striche. Das alte Runenzeichen *þ* erscheint nur noch im Artikel, ist oben offen und dem *y* angenähert, aber doch von diesem deutlich geschieden. Der Artikel erscheint teils als *the*, teils als *þ* mit hochgeschriebenem *e*. Ich habe *þe* für letzteres eingesetzt. Das lange *s* steht im Wort und Silbenanlaut, im Inlaut auch in *st* und *ss*, das kurze nur im Auslaut. Die langen und kurzen *r* sind nicht so scharf geschieden, doch steht das lange *r* stets im Wortanlaut sowie auch gedoppelt in *harry*.

Die Wiedergabe des Textes entspricht den von mir in meiner Urkundensammlung befolgten Normen: Bedeutungslose Schleifen und Schnörkel sind fortgelassen. Die Doppelzeichen für *r* und *s* sind einheitlich geregelt. Dagegen habe ich den zum Teil willkürlichen Wechsel grosser und kleiner Anfangsbuchstaben belassen. Es ist nicht alles Willkür hier (wie auch andere Urkunden zeigen) und nur die genaue Wiedergabe innerhalb des Textes kann dem Auge des Forschers den wünschenswerten Überblick ermöglichen, zumal grosse und kleine Anfangsbuchstaben hier deutlich geschieden sind. Die Abkürzungszeichen habe ich überall aufgelöst und durch kursive Schrift kenntlich gemacht. Besonderheiten des Schreibers und schadhafte Stellen sind in den Anmerkungen verzeichnet. Getrennte Zusammensetzungen habe ich durch Bindestrich verbunden. Die Urkunde hat keinerlei Interpunktionszeichen; sie rühren in der Wiedergabe von mir her und sind dem Urkundenstile tunlichst angepasst.

Ausserdem bringen die Anmerkungen auch einige Wort- und Sacherklärungen, um dem Leser das Verständnis zu erleichtern.

¹ L. Morsbach und F. Holthausen, "Alt- und mittelenglische Texte." (Heidelberg, 1923 und 1926; Carl Winters Univ. Buchhandlung), Nr. 10 und 11.

This bille indented and mayde þe XIII day of may, þe zere of þe Reyme of kyng Edwarde þe forte after þe conquest þe VIII zere, be-twyx wylliam Basset,¹ Squiere, on þe on parte, and Thomas² meverell, Squiere, on þe oder parte, beris³ wytnes: þat the forseyd william Basset has relese,⁴ be h[i]ls⁵ dede and dedis suffessant⁶ in the lawe, þe day and þe zere a-bove seyd, to Thomas meverell and⁷ his Eyris as well all his ryght, tytle, and clayme þat he, att my tyme, has had, has, or yn tyme to come schall mowe have, off and yn all þe londes and tenementes⁸ in throle, ffordiswall, coton⁹ and melwycg, yn the Counte of Stafford,¹⁰ as¹¹ all manere accyons,¹² reals and personels, þat he att any tyme has had, has, ore here-after schall mowe to have ayen¹³ the sayd

¹ Nicht ganz deutlich ob *Basset* oder *Bassit* gemeint ist, doch ersteres wahrscheinlicher. An allen anderen Stellen ist deutlich *Basset* zu lesen.

² In diesem Namen ist überall das *a* als Abkürzung über der Zeile geschrieben.

³ In Urk. *beriswytnes* zusammen geschrieben.

⁴ Die Grundbedeutung von *relese* (NE *release*) ist 'loslassen, freilassen, freigeben.' Im juristischen Sinne hier sowohl 'Jemd. etwas übertragen' (bezüglich der Ländereien und Freigüter) als auch 'etwas aufgeben, zurückziehen' (dies die Bedeutung, die das nicht wiederholte Wort weiter unten hat, wo von den Klagen und Prozessen—*accyons*—die Rede ist). Das *Oxford Dictionary* gibt zu *release* v.¹ unter 4b an: 'to surrender, make over, transfer (land or territory) to another. Chiefly Law.' Ferner I, 4: 'to give up, resign, relinquish, surrender' (esp. 'a right or claim in favor of another person'). Ferner zu *release* sb.¹ unter 4: 'Law. The act of conveying or making over an estate or right to another, or disposing of it in some legal fashion, a deed, or document made for this purpose.' Für die zweite Stelle in unserer Urkunde kommt in Betracht: *release* v.² unter I, 1: 'to withdraw, recall, revoke, cancel, etc.'

⁵ *Loch* in Urk.

⁶ NE *sufficient*.

⁷ Über der Zeile in Abkürzung nachgetragen, mit platzanweisendem Strich darunter.

⁸ *Oxf. Dict.*, *tenement*, sb. unter 2b (plur.): 'freehold interests in things immovable considered as subjects of property, they being not "owned" but "holden"; esp. in "lands and tenements," i.e., lands and all other freehold interests.'

⁹ Doch wohl *n*, nicht *m* in *Coton* gemeint.

¹⁰ *a* sehr schadhaft. ¹¹ *as* entspricht syntaktisch dem vorausgehenden *as well*.

¹² *Oxf. Dict.* zu *action* sb. unter II, 7: 'The taking of legal steps to establish a claim or obtain judicial remedy, legal process. To take action: to institute legal proceedings, hence gen. to take steps in regard to any matter, to act. Property in action, i.e., not in possession, but recoverable by legal process.'

¹³ In Urk. *agayen*. Auf *g* liegt ein Querstrich (als Tilgungszeichen?). Der Schreiber hat erst *ag* geschrieben, scheint sich dann rasch besonnen und *ayen* angefügt zu haben. Er hat wohl zwischen *agen* und *ayen* geschwankt.

EINE ENGLISCHE URKUNDE

Thomas meverell, fro þe be-gynyng of þe worlde vn-to þe XXXVII day of may last-paste. and also the sayd william Basset has delyvret¹ to þe seyð Thomas meverell, þe day and the zere a-bove seyð, all such Evidences as þe seyð william, or any man, to his vse has, or has had, concernyng þe londes and tenementes a-bove seyð, a-cordyng to the a-warde late made² be harry Lorde Gray³ be-twyx the forseyd william Basset and the a-bove seyð Thomas meverell. and to this bille indentyd, reymeynyng⁴ with the seyð Thomas meverell, þe sayd william Basset has set to his selle. 3evun att Blorɛ, þe day and the zere a-bove seyð.

Das "endorsement" in anderer Schrift und Tinte lautet:
"Basset to Meverell, ffrodswll [*sic*]."

¹ NE *delivered*.

² Über der Zeile nachgetragen, wie in Anm. 7.

³ Wahrscheinlicher *Gray*; könnte auch *Cray* sein.

⁴ NE *remaining*. Die Urk. soll im Besitz Meverells bleiben.

SHAKESPEARE AND FORMAL LOGIC

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In the middle of the twelfth century arose the *logica nova* made up of Aristotle's *Categories* and *Interpretation* and the famous *Isagoge* (*logica vetus*), together with the *Analytics*, the *Topics*, and *Sophisms* of Aristotle, and Gilbert's *Liber Sex Principiorum*. The *logica nova* was succeeded by the *logica moderna* of Petrus Hispanus, and the complete works of Aristotle in Greek came in the thirteenth century. St. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Duns Scotus all wrote commentaries on Aristotle as well as independent logical treatises, and writings on Aristotelian logic in the period of scholasticism were numerous and extensive. There is the *Summa Totius Logicae* of William of Occam and the *De Logica* of John Wyclif. But for all this, scholastic logic did not modify Aristotle essentially; it fixed logic as a school discipline, and brought logical terms into all modern languages, where they have remained ever since, not infrequently with their meanings unchanged. Even Petrus Ramus, whose work had a great vogue in England, modified Aristotle much less than is ordinarily supposed. He merely simplified the subject, shifted the order in which judgment and invention, the fundamental divisions of the subject, were treated, and thus gave the subject a more practical character; but Ramus did not supersede Aristotle. Ramus was by no means so extensively used in even Protestant countries as the *Erotemata Dialectica* of Melancthon. This, with a considerable number of school treatises both in Latin and the vernacular, was Aris-

totelian; so that Aristotle continued to hold sway throughout the Renaissance among Protestants as well as Catholics.

It is not, however, Aristotle with whom we have to do in the latter half of the sixteenth century, but with Aristotelian logic in textbook form. There is no English edition of the *Organon* until 1594, though the *Problems* was published in 1583 and translated in 1595. Logical study was probably largely in the vernacular, if we may judge by Thomas Wilson's *The Rule of Reason*, which appeared in 1551 and went through seven editions before the end of the century. Thomas Blundeville's *The Art of Logike* appeared in 1599, and a number of Ramist treatises, such as those of Dudley Fenner and Abraham Fraunce, in the vernacular had intervened. There is evidence all through the latter half of the sixteenth century that logic was a popular subject, and the treatises all show that it was greatly relied upon as a means of interpreting the scriptures and as a guide to preachers in the use of logical arguments against the devil.

When one examines a writer like Shakespeare for evidences of a knowledge of logic, one is not hunting for sources; and of course Shakespeare, as a dramatist, would have made no special display of logical knowledge if he had possessed it. Nevertheless, I think one can see that Shakespeare's language and that of the men of his time is often closer to the language of logic than our language is. English, like other modern languages, has been enriched by many logical terms and distinctions. Some of them remain unchanged in signification. Others have lost their logical exactitude in the welter of common use. Everybody knows what a *sylogism*, a *fallacy*, and a *proposition* are; but it is not so with such words as *difference*, *distribution*, *accident*, *disposition*, *invention*, and many others. These latter words usually meant to the Elizabethan something in addition to what they mean to us, and, in some cases, something quite different. If Shakespeare's language has logical denotations and connotations that our language lacks, we may enrich our

understanding of him by knowing what his words meant to him. There are, moreover, casual passages which show that Shakespeare was familiar with formal logic, and these passages are better understood in the light of that science.

Shakespeare, for example, uses the proper logical terms to describe the capacity for logical thought, which he called *discourse* and *discourse of reason*. Sir Clement Edmondes, *Observations upon the first five bookes of Caesar's Commentaries* (1600), quoted in the *NED*, says: "The soule of man is endued with a power of discourse, whereby it concludeth either according to the certaintie of reason, or the learning of experience." The *discourse of reason*, which may be defined as the reasoning faculty, as distinguished from reason, or the act of understanding by which it passes from premises to consequences, has practically the same meaning. Bacon uses it in the *Advancement of Learning* as follows: ". . . but in discourse of reason, finding what a province he had undertaken against the bishop of Rome. . . ."¹ And Shakespeare, in *Troilus and Cressida* (II, ii, 115-118), has—

Or is your blood
So madly hot that no discourse of reason,
Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,
Can qualify the same?

And also the more familiar passage from *Hamlet*:

O God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
Would have mourned longer.²

Hamlet also uses *discourse* in the same sense:

A beast, no more.
Sure, He that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unus'd.³

¹ Ed. by W. A. Wright (Oxford, 1891), p. 28.

² I, ii, 150-151.

³ IV, iv, 35-39. See also *Twelfth Night*, IV, iii, 1-3, for a striking case in which *instance* and *discourse* are used together.

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It is Marlowe who quotes the opening words of Ramus' treatise, *Bene disserere est finis logices*;¹ but Shakespeare uses the word *logic*, and this in connection with its companion study, when Tranio in *The Taming of the Shrew* (I, i, 34-35) advises his master:

Balk logic with acquaintance that you have,
And practice rhetoric in your common talk.

His use also of the word *sophister*² may indicate a knowledge of the other and darker art of sophistry whose relations to logic were described, along with those of rhetoric, in the early pages of books of logic.

Of general terms that we recognize as logical, Shakespeare uses the important word *sylogism* immediately after he has constructed one. The Clown in *Twelfth Night* (I, v, 47-56) addresses the Lady Olivia (she has called him a "dry fool"):

Two faults, madonna, that drink and good counsel will amend; for give the dry fool drink, then is the fool not dry: bid the dishonest man mend himself; if he mend, he is no longer dishonest; if he cannot, let the botcher mend him. Anything that's mended is but patch'd; virtue that transgresses is but patch'd with sin, and sin that amends is but patch'd with virtue. If that this simple syllogism will serve, so; if it will not, what remedy?

The traces of logical reasoning in ordinary speech are naturally widespread, and there are many instances in Shakespeare. For example, the following passage from *All's Well That Ends Well* (I, iii, 48-53) is a comic *sorites*:

He that comforts my wife is the cherisher of my flesh and blood; he that cherishes my flesh and blood loves my flesh and blood; he that loves my flesh and blood is my friend; ergo, he that kisses my wife is my friend.

Ergo in logic is a word used to mark the conclusion of a syllogism, and Shakespeare uses it repeatedly for comic effect. Dromio of Syracuse remarks:

Light is the effect of fire, and fire will burn; ergo, light wenches will burn.³

¹ *Doctor Faustus*, sc. i, l. 7.

² *II Henry VI*, V, i, 191.

³ *Comedy of Errors*, IV, iii, 55-57.

The word is a favorite with Launcelot Gobbo,¹ and with the Gravedigger in *Hamlet*, though in the case of the latter, the word appears as *argal*. The Gravedigger is very much of a logician and assails his companion with a crushing conditional dilemma:

Here lies the water; good. Here stands the man; good. If the man go to this water and drown himself, it is, will he, nill he, he goes,—mark you that? But if the water come to him and drown him, he drowns not himself; argal, he that is not guilty of his own death shortens not his own life.²

There is of course a considerable amount of syllogistic reasoning in the full form in Shakespeare,³ and still more in the abbreviated form of the enthymeme and other dilemmas besides the one cited; for example:

Look how we can, or sad or merrily,
Interpretation will misquote our looks,⁴

and

. . . . your son
Will or exceed the common or be caught
With cautelous baits and practice.⁵

When the Host in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (IV, v, 86) says he is in "perplexity and doubtful dilemma," and when *Parolles* in *All's Well That Ends Well* (III, vi, 80) says, "I will presently pen down my dilemmas," the meaning of the word seems to be merely that of perplexity or uncertainty; not so, however, *premise*. Abraham Fraunce in *The Lawiers Logike* (1588)⁶ says, "The premisses, as they terme them, that is, the proposition and the assumption, must bee prooued and confirmed." In the following case from Buckingham's farewell speech in *Henry VIII* (II, i, 62-63), the word seems correctly used:

¹ *Merchant of Venice*, II, ii, 59-62.

² V, i, 16-22.

³ See, for example, *The Tempest*, I, ii, 360; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III, i, 84, and III, ii, 36.

⁴ *I Henry IV*, V, ii, 12-13.

⁵ *Coriolanus*, IV, i, 32-34.

⁶ Quoted in *NED*.

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The law I bear no malice for my death;
'T has done, upon the premises, but justice,

as also in the following from *All's Well That Ends Well* (II, i, 204-205):

Here is my hand; the premises observed,
Thy will by my performance shall be served.

The most famous allusion to the syllogism is slightly puzzling. In the tavern scene that follows the robbery in *I Henry IV*, Falstaff makes his triumphant refutation of the apparently proved charge of cowardice:

Why thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true prince. Instinct is a great matter; I was now a coward on instinct. I shall think the better of myself and thee during my life; I for a valiant lion, and thou for a true prince.¹

Later in the same scene (ll. 535-545), after the game of impersonating the King and the Prince has been played, the Hostess announces that "the sheriff and all the watch are at the door," and Falstaff, alluding to the recent denunciation of himself as a "villainous and abominable misleader of youth," with other epithets, says—

Dost thou hear, Hal? Never call a true piece of gold a counterfeit. Thou art essentially mad, without seeming so.

To this the Prince replies—

And thou a natural coward without instinct.

And Falstaff neatly counters—

I deny your major. If you will deny the sheriff, so; if not, let him enter. That is, Falstaff denies the major premise. One might construct the syllogism in the first figure (Mood Darii) somewhat as follows: *Major premise*: Natural cowards are cowards without instinct. *Minor premise*: Falstaff is a natural coward. *Conclusion*: Falstaff is a coward without instinct.

In this syllogism, however, it is not the major that Falstaff

¹ II, iv, 298-303.

denies, but the minor. The obvious explanation would be that Falstaff is more anxious to make a pun on the word "major," which might also mean "mayor" or "officer," than he is to describe the syllogism, supposing him able to do so. Falstaff does actually deny the major *term* of the syllogism, i.e., "a coward without instinct."

Instead of the term *fallacy*, Wilson in *The Rule of Reason* uses *deceit*, and it may be that Shakespeare employs both terms with at least some logical connotation. In *The Comedy of Errors* (II, ii, 187-188), Antipholus of Syracuse, referring to the mistaken claims of Adriana, says—

Until I know this sure uncertainty,
I'll entertain the offer'd fallacy.

And later in the same play (III, ii, 34-36) he says to Luciana in his charmed state of mystification—

Lay open to my earthy, gross conceit,
Smoth' red in errors, feeble, shallow, weak,
The folded meaning of your words' deceit.

With the terms *proposition* and *argument* one crosses the line between the clearly technical use of logical words and the popular use, where it is difficult to tell whether the sense is a strictly logical one or merely a popular sense into which the logical meaning shades off. Wilson describes a proposition as a "perfecte sentence spoken by the Indicative mode, signifying either a true thing, or a false."¹ There is at least one clear use of the word in its logical sense in Shakespeare. In *As You Like It* (III, ii, 244-245) we have

It is as easy to count atomies as to resolve the propositions of a lover.²

In the case of *argument* or *proof* we have not only the common Elizabethan senses in Shakespeare but a number of instances where the word carries its logical application to the middle

¹ Quoted in *NED*.

² See also *Troilus and Cressida*, I, iii, 3-5.

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term in the syllogism, the proof or evidence; as, for example, in *Antony and Cleopatra* (III, xii, 2-6) where Dolabella says—

Caesar, 't is his schoolmaster;
An argument that he is pluck'd, when hither
He sends so poor a pinion of his wing,
Which had superfluous kings for messengers
Not many moons gone by.¹

With reference to the terms for the fundamental divisions of logic, namely, *judgment* and *invention*, it is hard to tell whether or not Shakespeare's uses are technical. The terms were so little specialized that the matter is not important. Holofernes, who is fond of logical forms, says to Nathaniel, "I will prove those verses to be very unlearned, neither savoring of poetry, wit, nor invention."² *Disposition* in logic is the due arrangement of the parts of an argument and is a synonym for *judgment*; this may be close to Hamlet's

And we fools of nature
So horribly to shake our disposition,³

And Macbeth's

You make me strange
Even to the disposition that I owe.⁴

When we come to the divisions of formal logic, though Shakespeare is familiar enough, as everyone must be, with the *predicables* themselves, namely, *genus*, *species*, *differentia*, *proprium*, and *accidens*, he does not use the word *predicable*. *Genus* is of course indistinguishable as a technical term, since its

¹ In *I Henry VI*, V, i, 46-47, we have

In argument and proof of which contract,
Bear her this jewel,

and in *Othello*, III, iii, 430-431,

This may help to thicken other proofs
That do demonstrate thinly.

² *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, ii, 164-166.

³ *Hamlet*, I, iv, 54-55.

⁴ *Macbeth*, III, iv, 112-113.

general use does not differ, either with us or in Elizabethan times, from its technical use. The "general sex" occurs in *Troilus and Cressida* (V, ii, 132), and there are other uses of the word in its consciously generic application. The same thing may be said of *species* and its adjective *special*. They are used as at present except that in some cases there is a suggestion of logical exactitude in describing the common attributes or essential qualities of a class of persons or things as distinguished from the genus, on the one hand, and the individual, on the other, e.g.—

Of all the men alive
I never yet beheld that special face
Which I could fancy more than any other.¹

In logic, *difference* means the quality, mark, or characteristic that distinguishes a species from all other species in the same class; it is the attribute by which a species is distinguished from other species of the same genus. It is clear from *Sonnet CV* that Shakespeare not only knew this word but understood the distinctions of formal logic. The sonnet has in it other logical terms concisely used:

Let not my love be call'd idolatry,
Nor my beloved as an idol show,
Since all alike my songs and praises be
To one, of one, still such, and ever so.
Kind is my love to-day, to-morrow kind,
Still constant in a wondrous excellence;
Therefore my verse to constancy confin'd,
One thing expressing, leaves out difference.²
"Fair, kind, and true" is all my argument,
"Fair, kind, and true" varying to other words;
And in this change is my invention spent,
Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.
"Fair, kind, and true," have often liv'd alone,
Which three till now never kept seat in one.

¹ *Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 10-12.

² This use of *difference* = *differentia* in this passage is cited in the *NED*.

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The fourth line of the sonnet, expressive of absolute unity, gives rise to the logical description in the eighth. It is not too much to insist also that "argument" in the ninth line and "invention" in the eleventh are used with logical reference.

Proprium, both as *proper* and as *propriety*, is frequent in Shakespeare in its logical sense of pertaining to one of a species but not common to the whole; as—

. . . with great imagination
Proper to madmen,¹

and

Alas! It is the baseness of thy fear
That makes thee strangle thy propriety.²

The case of *accident* is also fairly clear. In logic it means a property or quality of a substance that is not essential to our conception of it; as, for example, when T. Spencer, *Logick* (1628), says of syllogisms, "The second, and third [figures] have perfection essential, but not accidentall";³ as in *Troilus and Cressida* (III, iii, 82–83) where we have—

. . . as place, riches, and favour,
Prizes of accident as oft as merit.⁴

Shakespeare does not use the word *category*. He does, however, use the synonymous word *predicament*, and the question arises as to whether or not it occurs without the already growing sense of "evil predicament." Certainly this latter sense prevails in Portia's statement to Shylock,

In which predicament, I say, thou standest.⁵

¹ *II Henry IV*, I, iii, 31–32.

² *Twelfth Night*, V, i, 149–150.

³ Quoted in *NED*.

⁴ Shakespeare uses *accidence*, thought to be a corruption of *accidents*, to mean the rudiments of grammar, as it might mean the rudiments of any subject; see *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV, i, 16. For another use of *accident* see *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 549.

⁵ *Merchant of Venice*, IV, i, 357.

But possibly not when Hotspur says—

O, pardon me that I descend so low,
To show the line and the predicament
Wherein you range under this subtle king.¹

The ten *categories* or *predicaments* are: *substantia*, or being, *quantitas*, *qualitas*, *relativa*, *actio*, *passio*, *quando*, *ubi*, *situs*, and *habitus*. It is impossible to discriminate between the ordinary meaning of *substance* and its logical meaning, although it is worth while to call attention to the following passage from *Pericles* (II, i, 1-3):

Yet cease your ire, you angry stars of heaven!
Wind, rain, and thunder, remember earthly man
Is but a substance that must yield to you.

The uses of the word *quantity* sometimes suggest its logical application. In so far as the word means the extension or intention of a term, the matter is difficult; the following from *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* (I, i, 232-233) may be a case in point:

Things base and vile, holding no quantity,
Love can transpose.

When *quantity* means the degree of extension that a proposition gives to the term forming its subject, and according to which it is said to be universal, particular, singular, and indefinite or indeterminate, the logical connotations are often clear; as, for example, in the phrases, "universal like the sun," the "universal world," "the universal earth."² In *Hamlet* (I, ii, 72-75) the Queen says—

Thou know'st 't is common; all that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity.

To which Hamlet replies, "Ay, madam, it is common," and she says—

If it be,
Why seems it so particular with thee?

¹ *I Henry IV*, I, iii, 167-169.

² *Henry V*, IV, Prol., 43; IV, i, 63; *Romeo and Juliet*, III, ii, 94.

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The meticulous logical exactitude of the following language will be apparent:

What you do
Still betters what is done. . . .
When you do dance, I wish you
A wave o' the sea, that you might ever do
Nothing but that; move still, still so,
And own no other function. Each your doing,
So singular in each particular,
Crowns what you are doing in the present deeds,
That all your acts are queens.¹

Among the predicaments it is *quality* in which we get the greatest surprise. Aristotelian logic has, as its feature, inclusiveness, and provides, in a sense, an outline for all knowledge. We are so accustomed to conceive of logic as a functional science that we are likely to forget this. Under the predicament *quality* was subsumed the whole science of psychology. The divisions of *quality* are as follows: (1) habit (complete having); (2) disposition ("a forwardness in anything," as Wilson puts it, but also called *naturalis vis* or *imbecilitas naturae*); (3) passions or perturbations; (4) principal stirrings of the passions, as lust or desire, mirth, grief, and fear (these being actuated by the senses), the affections (qualities that "tarry longer than the passions"), and form and figure (concepts). In Shakespeare's use of the word *quality* these psychological denotations are continually reflected; as—

Know you the quality of Lord Timon's fury?²
. . . in the lusty stealth of nature take
More composition and fierce quality.³
Give her what comforts
The quality of her passion shall require.⁴

¹ *Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 135-146. *NED* quotes Coke, *Logick* (1654): "A singular accident is [that] which cleaves to a singular substance."

² *Timon of Athens*, III, vi, 117.

³ *King Lear*, I, ii, 11-12.

⁴ *Antony and Cleopatra*, V, i, 62-63.

There is one case of the perfect use of *relative* in the logical sense. Relative terms, according to Wilson, are those that are comprehended together by nature (as cause and effect), by manner (as the king and his sword), by degree (as master and servant), by accident ("a physician to be a man queller"), by kindred, marriage, covenant, natural kind, years, and conditions of life. Relatives occupy the chief causal category, and when Hamlet says,

I'll have grounds
More relative than this,¹

what he means is clear.

It is difficult to identify *quando*, *ubi*, and *situs*. Time, place, and circumstance are forever associated both in and out of logic. The following passage from *Love's Labour's Lost* (I, i, 234-243) is, however, a travesty of logical method and shows the application of these categories. It is Don Armado's letter:

So it is, besieged with sable-coloured melancholy, I did commend the black-oppressing humour to the most wholesome physic of thy health-giving air; and, as I am a gentleman, betook myself to walk. The time when? About the sixth hour; when beasts most graze, birds best peck, and men sit down to that nourishment which is called supper; so much for the time when. Now for the ground which; which, I mean, I walk'd upon: it is cyleped thy park. Then for the place where; where, I mean, I did encounter that obscene and most preposterous event, that draweth from my snow-white pen the ebon-coloured ink which here thou viewest, beholdest, surveyest, or seest; but to the place where: it standeth north-north-east and by east from the west corner of thy curious-knotted garden.

The following from Polonius in *Hamlet* (II, ii, 125-128) is also worth noting:

This, in obedience, hath my daughter show'd me
And, more above, hath his solicitings,
As they fell out by time, by means and place
All given to mine ear.²

¹ *Hamlet*, II, ii, 632-633.

² The categorical meaning of *habit*, which was confused by Blundeville and other logicians so as to lose its distinctive sense, cannot, I think, be found in Shakespeare.

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Formal logic is to Shakespeare, for the most part, a subject of jest. We have not only the clowns with their comic syllogisms and Don Armado, Holofernes, and Sir Hugh Evans with their pedantries, but we have also Polonius and Falstaff, the former pedantic and the latter burlesque. There is, moreover, a good deal of the small talk of debating, which seems to play over the dialogue between Falstaff and the Prince. Not only in the conception of Ramus but of all logicians, logic was the art of disputing well, and it is the logical terms of disputation that are found most plentifully in Shakespeare. *Contrary* seems to retain something of its logical association. Contrary propositions are those most opposed to each other as regards the quality of affirmation and negation, each denying every possible case of the other. In *The Rape of Lucrece* (ll. 1558-59) we have:

These contraries such unity do hold,
Only to flatter fools.

And Kent says in *King Lear* (II, ii, 93-94)—

No contraries hold more antipathy
Than I and such a knave.

We have uses of the words *demonstrate*,¹ *question*,² *inference*,³ *negation*,⁴ *ambiguity*, *equivocation*, and other words of logical disputation. "Didst thou not kill this king?" asks the Lady Anne in *Richard III* (I, ii, 101). "I grant ye," says Gloucester in reply. And when Polonius in *Hamlet* (II, ii, 430-432) says, "If you call me Jephthah, my lord, I have a daughter that I love passing well," Hamlet replies, "Nay, that follows not."

¹ *Othello*, III, iii, 431.

² Note the use of both *question* and *difference* in the following from *The Merchant of Venice* (IV, i, 171-172):

Are you acquainted with the difference
That holds this present question?

³ *Othello*, III, iii, 183.

⁴ *Troilus and Cressida*, V, ii, 127; see also *Twelfth Night*, V, i, 24, where you learn that "your four negatives make your two affirmatives."

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We find Shakespeare familiar also with the species of argument known as *example* in which the major premise of a syllogism is assumed from a particular *instance*, which latter word is defined in scholastic logic as a case adduced in objection to or disproof of a universal assertion; as when Mephistopheles says—

But, Faustus, I am an instance to prove the contrary,
For I am damned, and am now in hell.¹

The argument of example appears in the following from *Timon of Athens* (IV, iii, 438-440):

I'll example you with thievery:
The sun's a thief, and with his great attraction
Robs the vast sea.

And in this from *II Henry IV* (III, i, 102-103):

I have receiv'd
A certain instance that Glendower is dead.

And in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (II, ii, 255-256):

My desires had instance and argument to commend themselves.

Possibly the most striking cases of Shakespeare's employment of the language of logical disputation are to be connected with the important subject of *method*, with *definition*, *division*, and other connected subjects. Wilson puts down, early, Aristotle's four precepts: Before teaching know (1) whether it be or no; (2) what is its substance; (3) what manner of thing it is; (4) wherefore is it. And later he lists eight factors of method: (1) whether it be or no; (2) what it is; (3) what the parts are; (4) what the causes are; (5) what the effects are; (6) what are the next adjoining; (7) what the contrary; (8) example or authority. These eight factors constitute the *methodes* of Aristotle. He also gives the following four rules of definition: (1) contain no more than they define; (2) express the very nature or substance; (3) contain no ambiguity; (4) contain no ob-

¹ *Doctor Faustus* (Mermaid ed.), sc. v, ll. 134-135.

scurity. It is this aspect of logic which often enables one to understand the drift of both Polonius and Falstaff.¹ When Polonius says, "Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't," he does not mean that he suspects Hamlet of any hidden purpose; he means that Hamlet's argument about the symptoms of old age is arranged according to the principles of logical method; as, to be sure, it is. Not only does he recognize logical method, but he pretends to follow it:

Your noble son is mad.
 Mad call I it; for, to define true madness,
 What is 't but to be nothing else but mad? . . .
 Mad let us grant him then; and now remains
 That we find out the cause of this effect,
 Or rather say, the cause of this defect,
 For this effect defective comes by cause.
 Thus it remains, and the remainder thus.²

This recalls obviously the dialectic of Ramist logic, which dwelt upon the "cause effective" and the "effect of the cause."

Finally, not only is Falstaff a good logician in his conversations with the Prince, but his "catechism" on honor is a disputation:

Well, 't is no matter; honour pricks me on. Yea, but how if honour prick me off when I come on? How then? Can honour set to a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No. Honour hath no skill in surgery, then? No. What is honour? A word. What is in that word honour? What is that honour? Air; a trim reckoning! Who hath it? He that died o' Wednesday. Doth he feel it? No. Doth he hear it? No. Is it insensible then? Yea, to the dead. But will it not live with the living? No. Why? Detraction will not suffer it. Therefore I'll none of it. Honour is a mere scutcheon: and so ends my catechism.³

¹ Examples of Shakespeare's use of *method* in the logical sense may be found in *I Henry VI*, III, i, 13; *Comedy of Errors*, II, ii, 34; *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 244. As to *division*, the matter is doubtful; but see *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, i, 48, where the word is used in connection with *difference*; and *I Henry IV*, IV, i, 62. "Define, define, well-educated infant," says Don Armado to Moth in *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, ii, 98; and Gloucester will answer Buckingham "definitively" in *Richard III*, III, vii, 153.

² *Hamlet*, II, ii, 92-104.

³ *I Henry IV*, V, i, 130-143.

His logic on the battlefield continues when he repeats the word "counterfeit" and continues—

I lie, I am no counterfeit. To die is to be a counterfeit, for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man; but to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth, is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed. The better part of valour is discretion; in the which better part I have saved my life.¹

The same severely logical outward form may be observed also in what Falstaff has to say about the virtues of sack (*II Henry IV*, IV, ii, 92–135) and the "semblable coherence" of the spirits of Justice Shallow and his men (V, i, 67–95).

In view of the cases cited we may fairly conclude that Shakespeare's language is fuller of logical meaning than the language of today, closer to the subject itself, and that Shakespeare himself understood in some detail the subject of logic as it was taught in the grammar schools of his day.

¹ *Ibid.*, sc. iv, ll. 114–122. When Falstaff says that the "better part of valour is discretion," he is of course indulging in a piece of Aristotelian ethics.

A SPECIMEN OF VULGAR ENGLISH OF THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY



HARRY MORGAN AYRES, *Columbia University*

The debate, in verse, betwixt Thomas Churchyard and Thomas Camell (or Camel), dating from 1552 and preserved among the broadsides in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, possesses a linguistic interest that seems to have escaped attention.¹ After the briefest comment I shall offer a specimen of it.

An effort to convict each other of stupidity, the interchange between the two is so speedily successful on both sides that, in order to give it fresh interest and variety, several subsidiary characters from humble life who contribute to the discussion in dialect are introduced. First, goodman Gefferay Chappell, of Whipstable, expostulates with Camell on Churchyard's behalf in a dialect of which a liberal use of "ych," "cham," and "chyll," and of word-distortions such as "presmountation" (presumption) are the chief features. Camell replies in his own person, assuming that he has been addressed by one Harry Whoball (or Hoball). Characteristic of Camell's dialect is the voicing of initial *s* and *f*, the conventional southwestern type. On Churchyard's behalf one Steven Steple, in an even more luxuriant southwestern, assures Camell that it was Chappell and not Whoball who had addressed him. Finally, Mr. Harry Whoball's "mon" joins the fray, attacking Camell and hiding his own name in an acrostic at the end.

¹ See Robert Lemon, *Catalogue of . . . Printed Broad-sides in . . . Society of Antiquaries* (London, 1866), pp. 7-10.

The contribution of Mr. Whoball's "mon," here reprinted, appears to be an attempt at quite a different dialect from that used by the other contributors and commonly employed for comic or rustic effect in drama.¹ Churchyard had ideas of his own about spelling,² but Mr. Whoball's servingman does not exhibit Churchyard's personal peculiarities of language. It seems rather an attempt to reproduce a class-dialect of a vulgar sort. Certainly many of the phrases, such as "yeery day," "yeery whyt," "hyt peeres," "for case yo lien," "bout fortye moyle beyend," and "I syre yo bin nod spleasde," have the authentic ring. "Awisement" (39), "fery" (20), and "fenge-aunce" (24, 25) may indicate a trace of Wellerism. Forms like "wodder" (18) and "wooder" (34), for "other," "whorne" (10) and "whot" (17), exhibit the conditions that gave rise to the modern pronunciation of *one* (cf. "won," l. 24) and to the modern spelling of *wholly*. Do the spellings "lost" (39), "blome" (59), and "nome" (49, 57, 60) represent a survival in the vulgar language of unfronted Middle English *a*? The few cases of southern voicing suggest that the author did not regard this as characteristic of the dialect he was attempting to write. "Voxteile" is repeated from Camell's broadside, which is in southwestern, and "vrom" (14) and "zommer" (17), which closely follow it, may be mere slips out of character.

The reader is not to be deprived of the pleasure of working out for himself the "pratty thing" in the last twelve lines.

M. Harry Whobals mon to M. Camel greetes,
Him wyshing hally bread, to feare all ragyng spreetes.

Hoe bin nod yo mast Cammell sur, by gys I trow ye byn:
For Steuen Steple twode yer marks, that yo han brought frō Lyn.

5 Sur, an yo woden herken me, Ile tell yo all the troth,
My mastur Harry Whoball sur, is toto shamefull wrothe,

¹ Eduard Eckhardt, "Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren englischen Dramas," in Bang, *Materialien, etc.* (Louvain, 1910), Vol. XXVII.

² M. St. Clare Byrne, "Thomas Churchyard's Spelling," *Library* (4th ser., 1925), V, 243-248.

graders, spent six long days hard in the oil pits and forests.

2007年12月20日

[illegible]

- Woth yore hye maship, for a byll that yo han ryten late:
 For int ye rayle apon ym sore, as he wor nod yer mate.
 Yo wost nod whad yo wenten about, for heez a gentmon borne:
- 10 And yeery day doz hunt te deare, an yomen weare is whorne.
 Hee kylls grey gooses mony tymes, an yo their teyles shon weare:
 For heele nod han yore voxteile sur, its meete for yo to beare.
 An yore none selfe shon neede yor flap to fray the bussing flyes,
 Vrom blowing maggots: but a trowes, yo wonnod bleare yore eyes
- 15 Woth ryting any godly thing, ne weele yore bucke to plye:
 For hit dooz seeme, yo set yor mynde apont but naughtylye.
 But lest yo drinken out yer eyen, when zommer waxes whot.
 Whyle wodder ryten in yor nome, yore nose is in the pot.
 Bynnod yo dronken quite alout, yo han tane Iacke for gyll,
- 20 Ye slaundorne fery mony sur, that woden yo none yll.
 Sur, mastur Churchyard haz no bells, but yo don neede a Lacky,
 Some Morryon boye to hold ye vp, for drinke is toto nappye.
 My mastur cowde nod weele beleue that yo sur worne a mon:
 For case yo sen yo ben a Beaste, and lyke a fengeaunce won.
- 25 Hyt peeres that yo han naught, he says, but fengeaunce in yor braines:
 For case yo lien, an han no thonke, an putten men to paines.
 Mast Choploche, chop yo hally watur? an why nod hally breade?
 Wode ye hod chopt the sonny caks, that yo in Lyn han leade.
 For sur, my mastur merbles moch, whad mad yor braynes to crowe,
- 30 That when yo hadden raylen ynow, wo Churchyard an wom mo:
 To gyn a yene to rayle on him, that yo ne see ne knew,
 As won that furst haz dronken alout, an gynnes a yene to brew.
 My mastur plize his bussinesse, bout fortye moyle be yend,
 An when a hard yor folysh byll, haz me to London send,
- 35 To ash yor maship whats te case, that yo so braggen an bosten:
 As won that yeat an honest nome in all yor life neare losten.
 To sclauendrē won that gnawes ye nod, nor scant offe yo haz harde:
 Soffe lately when a mon en Lyn, yor qualistries declarde,
 An lost of all to preine ye sur, a wisement butter take:
- 40 (Bew'are yo laft alone? in deede, yor storme will soone aslake)
 An ten my mastur woll forgie yor rashnesse, I yo shone,
 An yo won stynt by this: and let all honest things alone.
 Fare weele mast Camell thus, for I a don my narnde:
 The which my master Whoball haz me streytly warnd.
- 45 I syre yo bin nod spleasde, for I a sed non ill:

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But whad my master dyd me charge, to sen yo tyll.

By yore none

At yore maunding.

Ar yo desiring for to lurne my nome, tough hit be rude:

50 I wood hit shone, an yo wood sweare, yo wodden nod me delude.

See ore my riting yeery whyt, an note an marke ye, that

A childe dooze furste the letters lurne, and then taks words therat.

A mon of wisedame, as yo bin, may knowe that children all

Ar brought from spealing for to reade, and wooder things wothall:

55 Deny nod this to be the best an rudest swort, and than

Bee like to them, beginning furst, as weele as yere ye con.

Ye then shon yo pike out my nome, an yore none selfe parcauen

A pratty thing the which is int, an now hearof we leauen.

Arrogant foke won nod do this, but yo I won nod blome:

60 Desiring yo to rede tees last twolue rowes, an lurne my nome.

“WOO’T DRINK UP EISEL”?

o

HENNING LARSEN, *University of Iowa*

To the many comments on the “eisel” of *Hamlet*, it may seem almost useless to add still another unless that be final. The present note in no way hopes to attain any finality; it merely adds one more passage illustrating the use of “eisel” = Lat. *acetillum* (a reading and interpretation last presented, I believe, by Mr. F. L. Lucas in the *Times Lit. Supplement*, July 29, 1926), interesting because of a new identification of its use in medicine and because of its appearance for the first time in Scandinavian in a MS of the fifteenth century.

The passage is found in the Old Icelandic MS Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 on folio 45 *verso* (a medical MS based on a Norwegian original of *ca.* 1350, which again is based largely on Danish sources of the thirteenth century):¹

Hialpar vid sull.

Dyacarpas. heitir electuarium. þat hialpur matuliga sull. ok þro** se**.² milltis ok lifrar. ef þat er druckit med eysil. eda med þeirri tempran er heitir. oxzacara.

In translation:

It helps for boil.

Diacaparis is an electuary. It helps powerfully a boil or swelling (?) of the milt and the liver if it is drunk with eisel or the mixture which is called oxysaccharum.

There can be little doubt that the Icelandic *eysil* is to be equated with the English “eisel.” It is here suggested as an

¹ For a description of the MS and a proposed edition of it see *Modern Philology* (May, 1926) and *Annals of Medical History* (April, 1927).

² Reading uncertain.

alternate of oxysaccharum, a compound of vinegar and sugar.¹ It is granted that no other record of the word is found in Icelandic sources; it is further granted that an OIcel. word *eysill*, meaning 'dipper, ladle,' is well known;² yet no one will urge, I think, that this meaning be squeezed into the passage above. It would be ridiculous to translate: "It is good for a boil or swelling of the milt or liver if drunk with *a dipper or with the mixture called oxysaccharum*." Whatever the exact meaning of *eysil* in the passage be, at least it is clear that it represents an aciduous liquid in medicinal use of a value similar to oxysaccharum; the reasonable conclusion seems to me to be that it is used in the elsewhere recognized meaning 'vinegar,' Lat. *acetillum*.

¹ NED, VII, Part 1, 353.

² Zoega, *Íslenzk-ensk orðabók*.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF "YANKEE"

◊

HENRI LOGEMAN, *University of Ghent*

The *N(ew) E(nglish) D(ictionary)*, after briefly reviewing various suggestions concerning the origin of this word, to which there will be occasion to come back later, remarks: "Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is that it comes from Dutch *Janke*, diminutive of *Jan*, = 'John,' applied as a derisive nickname by either Dutch or English in the New England states," a suggestion due to Thierry in his *Life of Ticknor*.

Although we shall find that there is good reason to believe in a Dutch origin, and one containing the proper name *Jan*, too, the suggestion as a whole will at once be clearly shown to repose on an impossible basis by the fact that *Janke* in the slightly different form *Janneke*, at least (I have never come across *Janke*), is exclusively feminine, just as *Jannetje*. The only corresponding masculine diminutive is *Jantje*. This is said to be used for a female, too,¹ but that seems to be very rare; the point to be remembered, though, is the (negative) fact that *Janke*, if used at all instead of *Janneke*, as applied to a male being, is very rare. If, as I am told by Flemish correspondents, *Janke* may be heard as an occasional form, e.g., by children, a statement that I am unable to verify at the moment of writing, it is certainly not so common that it could be imagined to have been so used in a borrowed expression for your typical Dutchman, a meaning for which, on the contrary, the form *Jantje* is found very frequently. On a superficial survey of the forms quoted in the *W(oordenboek der) N(ederlandsche) T(aal)*, I find that form

¹ See the *W(oordenboek der) N(ederlandsche) T(aal)*, Vol. VII, col. 182.

mentioned at least thirteen times: *Jantje Albedil* = 'Jack Caviller'; *Jantje Content*; *Jantje Contrarie*; *Jantje Goddome* (who always uses a very bad and very big *D* . . .); *Jantje Kaas* (to be paid special attention to); *Jantje Sekuur*; *Jantje Stapallemachtig* ('the man with the mighty strides'); *Jantje Stoot-je-teentjes-niet* ('don't hurt your toes'); etc.¹

According to the earliest suggestion recorded by the *NED* concerning the word, viz., that by Aubury (1789), *Yankee* must be derived from a Cherokee *eankke*, 'slave,' 'coward.' An account of its origin recorded by Dr. W. Gordon in his *History of the American War* throws its dated use back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. He tells us that it was a favorite word with a certain farmer, Jonathan Hastings (ca. 1713). This is referred to by the *NED* but is quoted at greater length in the *C(entury) D(ictionary)*. Now it will be clear that the semasiology involved shows these words to be almost certainly quite different in origin, for Farmer Hastings is reported to have used *Yankee* in the sense of 'excellent,' which at once directs our attention to an adjective and adverb *yankie* quoted and illustrated in the *CD* ("yankee,"¹ but see *infra*) and there connected—probably correctly, if a genuine word—with an adjective *yankie*, 'smart,' 'active,' and used as a substantive, 'a sharp, clever, forward woman.' Gordon speaks of Hastings as the "inventor" of this word, which "two aged ministers . . . remembered to have been in use (as a cant word) among the students of Cambridge." Now, even if it may turn out somewhat venturesome—as we shall presently see it is likely to do—to connect this (in that case very genuine) word with the Scotch adjective *yankie*, 'active,' 'agile,' 'nimble,' etc.,² it is hard to believe that Hastings "invented" it. However this may be, in the sense of 'slave,' 'coward,' this word, if, as suggested, of Cherokee origin, entirely escapes any attempt at explanation

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, cols. 103–196.

² See *E(nglish) D(ialect) D(ictionary)* (ed. Wright), VI, 565.

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by the present writer, since he has not even a smattering of any of these Indian dialects. The same must unfortunately be said with regard to the suggestion next in order of time, by Heckewelder,¹ quoted both in the *NED* and the *CD* as being most widely accepted, that "the word has been evolved from North American Indian corruptions of either *English* or French *Anglais*, through *yengees* to *Yankees*"; cf. *NED yankee* and *yengee*. Here, too, ignorance of the dialects in question seems to have been the reason that possible (so it would seem a priori) and at least much-desired analogies have not been adduced to throw the necessary light on this supposed connection; no such investigation seems to have hitherto been undertaken by a competent scholar. And even if my personal impression that the form *yengee* seems sufficiently like *English* to be looked upon as a corruption of it by those not to the manner born (and perhaps more so than *yankee*) should be shared by my readers, such an impression will not allow us to speak with anything approaching the quasi-certainty with which the hypothesis has been brought forward, nor to justify the favor with which it has hitherto been received.

Fortunately it will not prove necessary to judge by such personal impressions alone, since by the courtesy of Professor Uhlenbeck, formerly of Leiden, now at Nijmegen, I am in a position to adduce some arguments—his of course, and so those of one of the foremost students of the Indian languages—that will no doubt take away any faith my readers still may have left as to the derivation of our word from Indian sources.

First of all, Professor Uhlenbeck tells me "at one fell (introductory) swoop," that most native Indian languages of North America have generally speaking borrowed very little from the English language; as a rule they make up words wanted to express new notions out of their own materials. Thus the Black-foot Indians, when wishing to express the (at one time) new

¹ *Indian Nation* (ed. 1876), III, 77.

notion of a European, especially one that speaks English, called him *napikōan*, literally 'the white individual,' formed with the (individualizing) suffix *koan* from the stem *napi*, which, when not in a compound, seems to have occurred only in the sense of 'old man,' by extension also used of 'old animals.' So *napi* is the very 'white man' we are familiar with from our Fenimore Cooper time.

And what is perhaps of even more importance, where the Indian languages do exceptionally borrow the word "English," as in the Delaware dialect, we find a form very much less truncated or corrupted than such forms as *Yengee* or *Yankee* would cause us to assume, viz., *ingeliš* or *ingelišman*. And Professor Uhlenbeck continues: "Now it is clear that Yankee cannot come from an intermediate form of the type *ingeliš*. Nor would it be easy to explain *Yengee* from any such Indian form."

With regard to Cherokee *eankke*, which, as noted *supra*, was at one time tentatively suggested to be the possible original of *Yankee*, my learned informant is equally categorical. Uhlenbeck cannot find such a word in the material at his disposal, he tells me; and considering the general note of warning I have been obliged to sound as to there being so very few words borrowed at all in the native languages from English, it is not very likely, although not absolutely impossible, that in the sense of *English* it was borrowed, none the less, from Scotch *Yankie* = 'excellent.' ("All that comes from England was excellent.") The only word that Uhlenbeck quotes as resembling *eankke* (to some extent, at least) is the Onondaga *enasqua*, 'animal propre au service,' 'animal domestique,' 'captif,' 'esclave,' 'prisonnier.' So surely no one will be astonished after this at Professor Uhlenbeck's recapitulatory observation: "I do not think that *Yankee* has anything to do with those Iroquese (Cherokee is a dialect of Iroquese) words."

So far, the essence of Professor Uhlenbeck's information, for which my readers will surely be as thankful as the present

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writer, will undoubtedly suffice to make us desire to go beyond the simple *non liquet* to which my own considerations could at most have led. The "English" hypothesis may henceforth safely be considered to be ruled out of court, and the investigator is thus not yet relieved from the duty of looking for other sources of our word.

As will at once be apparent from a single look into the *NED* or the *CD*, all we know about the word points to its having been applied originally to the New England district first, and only afterward to other regions, or rather to their inhabitants. So it is to New England with its strong Dutch influence that we have undoubtedly to look for its origin. And hence I suppose the preference of the *NED* for Dutch *Janke*. Now this *Janke* is most likely, like the famous *Peterkin* of Hohenlinden fame, nothing but the product of the brain of the author, who fondly imagined he was using a Dutch name. He may have been thinking of the German *Peterchen*. (As the name of a ship, I may as well add here in parentheses; see the *NED*, p. 15. I venture to think that further investigation will prove it to have no separate existence at all; it looks suspiciously like a simple application, somewhat unusual perhaps, of the "ordinary" word we are investigating.) So the essentially Dutch *Jan* is a priori far from unlikely the origin of the *first* element of our word. As I have already said, it is to the explanation offered of the *second* part that exception must be taken. The name *Jan* by itself is so common as the representative of the male in general that there cannot be the slightest hesitation to look upon *Jan* as the first part of this word, originating in precisely those states where Dutch influence was paramount until my countrymen were replaced there by the all-invading Britisher.

Years ago, in the columns of two different Belgian periodicals (*Volkskunde* of the late folklorist A. de Cock, and the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*), following up a chance hint thrown out by a non-philological friend, I published a brief

note on this subject with two suggestions: one to the effect that *Yankee* might represent a Dutch *Jan Kees*, two very common abbreviated Dutch Christian names, and the other hypothesis being that an original dialectic *Jan Kees* might be supposed to represent the *Jan Kaas* of the Dutch *Kown*, a well-known nickname for my countrymen, both of which suppositions we shall have to come back to.

I imagined I had clearly brought out in these two papers, short as they were, that in my opinion the palm should be awarded to the latter hypothesis, but curiously enough it is the former suggestion, which to the entire exclusion, so far as I can see, of the latter, has found its way into other publications, viz., into a note by the late Professor Skeat in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*¹ and a query by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew² and two answers.³ See also the etymological dictionaries of Hellqvist (*Svensk etym. ordbok*), Weekley, etc.; all, unless I have overlooked other references, due to a recording of my suggestion by Jespersen in his *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, and this in spite of the fact that Jespersen duly mentions both alternatives.

The hypothesis of the double names was largely, if not exclusively, based on the remark that these double Christian names were characteristic of my countrymen, by which I think I intended to convey the impression that they were found there only. But the statement is, in that form, surely too sweeping. Everyone knows who *Jean Paul* was, and the author of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* is more often spoken of as *Jean Jacques* than as *Rousseau*. And to quote a quite recent example, only this morning a letter reached me from Denmark, mentioning the writer's wife as *Anne Marie*—it would be futile to quote more. But what does seem characteristic of Dutch in this respect is the habit of thus coupling together, not the full names, but the

¹ Volume for 1907-10, pp. 332-353.

² *Notes and Queries* (10th ser.), IV, 509.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 15.

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well-known Dutch abbreviated (or abridged) corresponding *koseformen*; such as *Mie* for *Marie*, *Bet* for *Elisabeth*, *Klaas* for *Nikolaas*, *Kees* for *Cornelis*, etc., thus producing names like *Miebet*, *Annemie*, *Betteko*, etc., and one of those is precisely *Jan Kees* or *Jankees*—the one that interests us most.

What makes me still less inclined now to assume a similar collocation to be at the bottom of our compound is the fact that I have hitherto not come across any analogues of this process in any other language, while, as will be shown later, rather important analogues to the other alternative have since come to my notice.

When, something like thirty years or more ago, the present writer unexpectedly entered a company of his then new compatriots at Ghent, he was hailed with a half-sarcastic, though no doubt well-meant: "Oh, daar heb je Jan Kaas!" The joke fell rather flat, I am sorry to say for the perpetrator, for I was not then aware that *John Cheese* was, as it has been for centuries, a nickname for my countrymen in Flanders as well as elsewhere, e.g., in Germany, here in an only slightly different form: *Kaaskop*. (By the way, the very word *John Cheese* that I happen to use here as a mere translation of the Dutch *Jan Kaas* is found only once, it would seem, in English, viz., in Ascham's *Scholemaster* [ed. Arber, p. 54], in a very vague sense; the *NED* says merely that it is a nickname. As in Ascham it is found paralleled it seems by 'peekgoose,' i.e., a dolt, a simpleton; it may have a similar meaning here, and it is not at all certain that it is the English equivalent of our Dutch *Jan Kaas* as I think I have seen it stated.)

These words, *Jan Kaas*, *Kaaskop*, and even a third, *Kaaskoper*, tell a tale that seems to have been heard in more countries than one, not only that your Dutchman was everywhere known as a maker and vendor of cheese, but that, names like Gouda and Edam having been known for ages as suggestive of the products of Holland as that very name and Schiedam them-

selves, those words containing *kaas* were readily used as nicknames for the Hollanders.

Jan(tje) Kaas and *Kaaskoper* explain themselves, but *Kaaskop* requires a word of explanation, which, however, will hardly satisfy my readers. It would, indeed, require an intimate knowledge of the form-development of the Dutchman's head, to which I can lay no claim, to explain why that useful, conspicuous protuberance was found or supposed to resemble a cheese. Is it possible that the Dutch were, rightly or wrongly, supposed to be more subject to baldness than others, so that their heads reminded the happy possessors of fully covered heads of a shining, yellowish Edam cheese? Whatever the explanation may prove to be, the fact remains that somehow they were called after that product of their country.¹

To take *Kaaskoper* first, although *in voce* the *WNT* recognizes that word only in the ordinary, current meaning of a 'vendor of cheese,' without anything resembling what we might call an "emotional" or "appreciative" by-meaning, that very Dutch counterpart of the English lexicographical "instrument of torture," as the late Mr. Mayhew called the *NED*, admits *Kaaskoper*—*in v. peperzak*—to mean 'formerly a term of abuse for the Dutch,' and curiously enough, *in v. Kaaskoper*, the same quotation is given in the body of the article. And the very way

¹ A Flemish correspondent who had been shown the preceding suggestion writes as follows: "*Kaaskop* should perhaps be explained differently; your comparison with Edam or Gouda does not satisfy me. We always call them by those names in full. Dutch cheese is here called *bolkaas* [*bol* means both 'globe' and 'head,' 'noddle'] whether its exterior be gray or red [different colors of the Dutch product]. Now it may happen that a person whose head presents a round 'globe-like' appearance is not said to have a 'head' but a globe (*bol*); a very common (and very popular) expression for the head is 'my cheese': *mijn kaas*. A Dutch *conférencier* of some renown, the late Prof. Bolland, is remembered to have expressed himself to the effect that 'your globe-like faces (*uw bolronde aangezichten*) show you to be of the same race as we.' Hence the word *kaaskoppen* may easily have come to be applied to the Hollanders." I reproduce this suggestion without further commentary, remarking merely that this hardly explains how this name could have developed into a nickname for the Dutch by the very people who suffered from the same peculiarity.

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the word is mentioned shows that the irony of it must have been clear as well as current: "Onze Zondagsnamen aldaar—onder onze broeders de Hoogduitschen—zyn Hollandsche Kaaskopers en Hollandsche Peperzakken."¹

As to *Kaaskop*, the *WNT* is very eloquent, and a reference to Volume VII, column 756, will furnish Low German and Flemish forms sufficient to prove our point: *Kaaskop*, *Keeskop*, *Keskopp*, and *Kieskop*.

Jantje Kaas has been quoted before; it will be found illustrated in the *WNT* if further illustration is necessary after what has been said about it. It is, as we have seen, in present usage still; the most celebrated bearer of the name was undoubtedly King Willem I, the same *Jantje Kaas* who went back to Holland, according to a popular ditty, *als een haas* = 'in hot haste,' at the time of the "Belgian revolt."

It is interesting to find that the word penetrated even into Denmark. At least there is a very great probability that it was used by one no less than Holberg, in his well-known comedy *The Eleventh of June*. We read there of a certain Skipper Adrian—it is beyond cavil that a Dutchman is meant here; he comes from "Vlie" (to the north of the province of North Holland)—who "talked with *some other Kalloepers*" about whatever it was. *Kalloepers* is pure nonsense, and the word was first "corrected" into *Kalfkoepers*, 'dealers in calves,' which is certainly not the right reading either.²

In view of all this, it will hardly be possible to deny the a priori likelihood, or at least the possibility, that the second element of our word was *Kees*, a dialect-form of *Kaas*.

Before concluding, it may be desirable to say a word or two about the congeners, real and supposed.

¹ See *WNT*, Vol. XII, p. 9, col. 1177; Vol. VI, p. 1, col. 161, in *v. Hazekop*.

² See a paper on this question in the Danish quarterly, *Danske Studier* (1925), p. 156, and a supplement, *ibid.* (1926), p. 82; the probable reading there will be found to be *Kaaskopers*. Holberg uses the word elsewhere, too.

Yank, substantive 2 of the *NED*, is, of course, as there remarked, a "colloquial abbreviation" of our word, to be compared to *grad* from *graduate* rather than to *prof* from *professor* as given here and there, on account of the accent. The verb *to yank* and the corresponding substantive have probably nothing to do with our word, nor has *yanks* = 'leggings.' *Yanky*, 'a ship,' is, as we have seen, doubtful. In the sense of a 'quarrel' and *yanker* = 'a great falsehood' (*EDD*), we may think of Dutch *janken* = 'to yell,' for the form, and compare "a howler" for the sense. Cf. *Yank* = 'to cry out,' 'to squeal' (*ibid.*).

If much of what precedes may confidently be supposed to make the proposed derivation very likely, it must not be supposed that the writer fondly imagines that he has solved the riddle definitively. Far from it, for there are difficulties. There is first of all the accent: Both on the—less likely—*Kees* = 'Cornelis' supposition and on that of *Kees* representing *Kaas* = 'cheese,' we have the stress in Dutch on the second element, whereas *Yankee* as well as *Yengee* are accented on the first. The only possible solution I can see of this hitch is the well-known general consideration that the final stress of a word is often thrown on to the penultimate when followed by another word with equally strong stress on its first syllable: a girl of *seventéén*, but, *séventeen* years of age. Then, if my hypothesis is correct, we should expect to find, once, at least, a form like *a Yankees*, the old singular from which the new one *a Yankee* should have been subtracted. Here I can only say that an *argumentum ex nihilo* is always dangerous—who shall say that this form cannot have been in use; remember that our word seems to have been in use since 1713. Further, what must have been the Dutch plural? *De Jan Keezen*? *De Jantjes Kees*? Hardly this latter. Then how do we evolve *the Yankese* as a plural from the Dutch *de Jankeezen*? All these questions will require an answer before we may speak with certainty. On the other hand, as it will per-

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haps be superfluous to add, the loss of the *s* cannot cause the slightest difficulty; the very word, "subtraction," used will show that the change would be on a par with that in *Chinee*, *pea*, *cherry*, from *Chinese*, *pease*, *cherries*, etc.

It has been thought desirable to bring this problem once more before the public now that more material is available, and this time before a wider one than in 1905, and, moreover, one consisting of specialists whose task it will be to test the suggestion on its merits, as I hope they will do, even at the risk of having my hypothesis overthrown by one of my readers, a consummation I shall be happy to see if my prospective successor in this field will only offer us a better derivation in the place of the one here proposed.

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S. B. LILJEGREN, *University of Greifswald*

A very great interest attaches to Harrington's *Oceana* in the history of political ideas. This is, however, chiefly the case as regards England, the United States of America, and France.¹ In Germany I have so far found only a single instance of anything like influence exercised by Harrington; a very curious instance, it is true, because it was no less a person than the philosopher Leibnitz himself who discovered the excellence of the *Oceana* in this country.

The fact has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, escaped the attention of scholars, probably owing to the eclipse that Harrington's name, more than his ideas, suffered for centuries. The student of Leibnitz who met with the foregoing name in the works of the German philosopher must have found it thoroughly obscure and uninteresting. Scholars who have inquired into Leibnitz' political thought likewise seem to have ignored Harrington and his book.²

¹ For this subject I refer to the volume on the *Oceana* that I am preparing and for which all the materials are now collected and ready. In the meantime, recourse should be had to my edition of the *Oceana* and the literature there indicated.

² P. Köhler, *Der Begriff der Repräsentation bei Leibnitz* (Bern, 1913), inquires into the philosophical conception only. E. Pfeiderer, *G. W. Leibnitz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger* (Leipzig, 1870), does not consider the problem that Leibnitz discussed in his letter on Harrington.

For Leibnitz' related correspondence, see Onno Klopp, *Correspondance de Leibnitz avec l'électrice Sophie de Brunswick-Lunebourg, petite-fille de Jacques Ier roi d'Angleterre, née princesse palatine du Rhin, dès 1701 héritière présomptive des couronnes de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande, d'après les papiers de Leibnitz conservés à la bibliothèque royale de Hanovre* (Hanovre, 1875), II, 209 ff., 674 ff.

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The one who is primarily responsible for the fact that Harrington's ideas reached Leibnitz is Toland. We know that he was a correspondent of Leibnitz'; there are two letters from the latter to Toland preserved in the Toland Miscellany in the British Museum (Add. MSS 4465) that are of great interest because they show the kind of relations that existed between the two men.

Both letters are written in a clear hand, and the second one is addressed in the following way:

A MONSIEUR TOLAND
À AMSTERDAM

There are numerous—obviously subsequent—corrections and additions made in pencil, such as the underlining of personal names and the titles of books, etc. The last sentence of the second letter, about addressing things to M. Mezquita, is crossed several times in pencil, and the place and date are transposed, likewise in pencil, to the head of the letter. Both letters have a penciled note: "[Pray] Don't soil nor tear this letter." They were obviously considered to be more precious than the rest of the Toland Miscellany because none of the other documents there has a similar note.

MONSIEUR

J'ay receu à mon retour le present de vôtre livre avec l'honneur de votre lettre, et je vous en remercie. Mon absence a été longue; autrement je vous aurois répondu plustôt. Il y a plusieurs bonnes remarques dans tous vos ouvrages, et je vous crois facilement, que Tite Live n'étoit rien moins que superstitieux. Monsieur Huet en appliquant les fables des Payens à Moyse, a voulu plustôt faire paroître son erudition que son exactitude, dont il a pourtant donné des bonnes preuves ailleurs; et son Livre des Demonstrations Evangeliques ne laisse pas d'estre tres instructif, non obstant qu'il s'y donne carrière, en se jouant des Mythologies. Vous avez fort raison, Monsieur, de donner des grands eloges à Herodote. Strabon est un auteur grave, mais lors qu'il parle de Moyse, il paroist qu'il prend les actions et [les sentimens de ce Legislateur selon les preventions et] les chimeres des Grecs. Il n'en avoit apparemment que des notices confuses, et il se trompe manifestement en

croyant que le temple de Jerusalem a été l'ouvrage de Moyse, que les voisins des Hebreux avoient des coûtumes semblables aux leurs, et que la circoncision et la défense de certaines viandes auprès des Juifs a été posterieure à Moyse. Je ne say, si vous avez trouvé, Monsieur, dans la langue des Coptes ou Egyptiens qu'elle convient avec celle des Pheniciens et des Arabes, comme vous dites p. 145. Feu M. Acoluthus de Breslau la croyoit convenir avec celle des Armeniens: mais ses preuves ne me satisfaisoient point. C'est une langue fort différente des autres, que nous connoissons.

Pour ce qui est de vôtre but, j'avoue qu'on ne sauroit assez foudroyer la Superstition; pourveu qu'on donne en même temps les moyens de la distinguer de la véritable religion; autrement on court risque d'envelopper l'un dans la ruine de l'autre, auprès des hommes, qui vont aisement aux extremités; comme il est arrivé en France, où la bigoterie a rendu la devotion même suspecte: car une distinction verbale ne suffit pas. Ainsi j'espere que vous serez porté à eclaircir la verité, comme vous avez travaillé à rejeter le mensonge.

Vous faites souvent mention, Monsieur, de l'opinion de ceux, qui croient, qu'il n'y a point d'autre Dieu, ou, d'autre Estre eternel, que le monde, c'est à dire, la matière et sa connexion (comme vous l'expliquez p. 75) sans que cet Estre eternel soit intelligent (p. 156) sentiment que Strabon attribué à Moyse selon vous (p. 156) et que vous mêmes attribuez aux Philosophes de l'Orient, et particulièrement à ceux de la Chine (p. 118). Et vous dites même (p. 115) qu'on y peut appliquer (mais pas equivoque) l'Estre parfait, l'Alpha et l'Omega, ce qui a été, qui est, et qui sera; ce qui est tout en tous, dans le quel nous sommes, nous nous remuons, et nous vivons, formules de la Sainte Ecriture. Mais comme cette opinion (que vous marquez de rejeter vous même) est aussi pernicieuse, qu'elle est mal fondée, il eût été à souhaiter, Monsieur, que vous ne l'eussiez rapportée qu'avec une refutation convenable, que vous donnerez peut être ailleurs. Mais il seroit tousjours mieux de ne pas differer l'Antidote apres le venin. Et pour dire la verité, il ne paroist pas que la pluspart de ceux des anciens et des modernes, qui ont parlé du monde comme d'un Dieu, ayent crû ce Dieu destitué de connoissance. Vous savez qu'Anaxagore joignoit l'Intelligence avec la Matière. Les Platoniciens ont concû une Ame du monde, et il paroît que la doctrine des Stoiciens y revenoit aussi: de sorte que le monde selon eux une manière d'Animal ou d'Estre, vivant le plus parfait qui se puisse, et dont les corps particuliers n'étoient que les membres. Il semble que Strabon aussi l'entend ainsi dans le passage que vous cités [*Sic!*]. Les Chinois mêmes, et autres Orientaux conçoivent certains Esprits du Ciel et de la terre, et peut être même, qu'il y en a parmy eux, qui conçoivent un Esprit supreme de l'Univers. De sorte que la difference entre tous ces Philosophes (sur tout les anciens) et entre le veritable Theologien,

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consisteroit en ce, que selon nous et selon la verité, Dieu est au dessus de l'univers corporel, et en est l'auteur et le Maistre (*intelligentia supramundana*) au lieu que le Dieu de ces Philosophes n'est que l'ame du monde ou même l'animal, qui en resulte. Cependant leur Tout ($\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu$) n'estoit pas sans intelligence, non plus que nôtre Estre suprême. Madame l'Electrice a coustume de citer et de louer particulièrement ce passage de l'Ecriture, qui demande s'il est raisonnable quel'auteur de l'œil ne voye pas, et que l'auteur de l'oreille n'entende pas, c'est à dire, qu'il n'y ait point de connoissance dans le premier Estre, dont vient la connoissance dans les autres.

Et à proprement parler, s'il n'y a point d'intelligence universelle dans le Monde, on ne pourra point le concevoir comme une substance veritablement une: ce ne sera qu'un *Aggregatum*, un assemblage, comme seroit un troupeau de moutons, ou bien un étang plein de poissons. Ainsi en faire une substance éternelle, qui meritât le nom de Dieu, ce seroit se jouer des mots, et ne rien dire sous des belles paroles. Les erreurs disparaissent, lorsqu'on considère assés les suites un peu negligées de ce grand principe, qui porte qu'il n'y a rien, dont il n'y ait une raison qui determine pourquoy cela est ainsi plustôt qu'autrement: ce qui nous oblige d'aller au delà de tout ce qui est materiel, par ce que la raison des determinations ne s'y sauroit trouver.

Les deux ouvrages l'un en Latin l'autre en Italien que Giordano Bruno a publié de l'univers et de l'infini, et que j'ay lus autrefois, font voir que cet auteur ne manquoit pas de penetration. Mais malheureusement il est allé au delà des justes bornes de la raison. Il donnoit aussi dans les Chimeres de l'art de Raymond Lulle. Je n'ay jamais lû son *spaccio della Bestia triomfante*: il me semble, qu'on m'en a parlé un jour en France, mais je ne le saurois asseurer: il y a trop long temps. Ne faudroit-il point dire *specchio* au lieu de *spaccio*? M. de la Crose m'a dit, que vous luy avez montré ce livre. Madame l'Electrice se porte encore bien, graces à Dieu. Elle vient de perdre sa sœur Abbese de Maubuisson bien plus agée qu'elle, et qui s'est asses bien portée jusqu'à sa derniere année. Je crois que Monseigneur le Prince Electoral ira encore faire la campagne.

Au reste je suis avec zele votre tres humble et tres obeïssant serviteur

LEIBNITZ

HANOVER ce 30 d'Avril 1709

P.S.—Mes amis m'ont pressé de faire mettre au net mes considerations sur la liberté de l'homme et la justice de Dieu par rapport à l'origine du mal: dont une bonne partie avoit été autrefois couchée sur le papier pour la faire lire à la Reine de Prusse qui le desiroit. J'y examine toutes les difficultés de M. Bayle et tache de les resoudre, pendant que je rend justice à son merite. Car je n'aime pas d'accuser les gens sur des simples soubçons.

The second letter follows:

MONSIEUR

J'ay receu ce, que Vous m'avez envoyé contre le Docteur Sacheverel, aussi bien que le sermon de M. l'Archeveque de Dublin, avec la réfutation, dont je vous remercie. J'ay trouvé des bonnes choses dans le livre de ce Prelat sur l'origine du mal; mais je ne saurois goûter son sentiment, qui tend à nous faire croire, qu'il y a dans les substances libres une volonté ou Election, qui ne soit point fondée dans la representation du bien ou du mal des objects, mais dans je ne say quel pouvoir arbitraire de choisir son sujet. Son sermon aussi ne me satisfait pas, lors qu'il semble nier, que nous avons des veritables notions des attributs de Dieu.

Il est vray, que Strabon est un bon Auteur: mais je crois pourtant, qu'on peut dire, qu'il se trompe fort en parlant des Juifs. Il ne paroît point fondé d'avancer les points suivans, (1) que des Edomites chassés de l'Arabie, se sont joints aux Juifs et ont pris leur loix: (2) que les Juifs sont Egyptiens d'origine: (3) que Moyse a été un prêtre Egyptien: (4) que Moyse a crû, que Dieu est le monde: (5) que Moyse a occupé les environs d'Jerusalem: (6) qu'il a obtenu pays sans combat: (7) que le pays des Juifs estoit peu digne d'être matière de combats: (8) qu'au lieu d'armes Moyse a employé les ceremonies de la religion: (9) que les peuples voisins se sont joints à luy: (10) que ses successeurs ont introduit la circumcission [*sic!*], et l'abstinence de certaines viandes. Je ne veux point éplucher le reste, mais je ne saurois dissimuler la faute qu'il a faite dans un fait voisin de son temps, en croyant qu'Herode a été un des Prêtres ou Pontifes des Juifs. M. Casaubon a remarqué encore, que Strabon trompé par d'autres auteurs, a confondu le lac de Sirbone avec le lac Asphaltite, ou le Jordan se perd. La langue Cophite garde beaucoup de l'ancien Egyptien, et des personnes y versées le croient bien different de l'Arabe.

M. Huet étant sans doute un des plus savans hommes de nôtre temps, merite, qu'on parle de luy avec moderation.

Quant aux Chinois, je crois qu'il faut distinguer entre leur caracteres et leur langue. Les Caracteres en sont difficiles à apprendre, et les Jesuites ont raison de soutenir, qu'il faut beaucoup de temps pour qu'on soit en état de bien entendre les livres de cette nation; mais la langue n'est pas fort difficile, quand on en a attrappé la pronontiation; aussi est elle fort imparfaite; les savans ne la cultivant point, par ce qu'ils s'attachent aux caracteres. Le Pere Grimaldi m'a dit, qu'il arrive quelque fois aux Chinois dans la conversation de tracer les caracteres en l'air ou autrement, pour se mieux expliquer.

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En cas que Vous me voulussiez envoyer quelque chose, le meilleur seroit de le remettre entre les mains de M. Mezquita.

Au reste je suis

Monsieur

votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

LEIBNITZ

HANOVER ce 1 de Mars 1710

More letters exchanged between Toland and Leibnitz are to be found in the *Works* of the latter. As early as 1701, his interest in Toland was aroused, as appears in the following letter to Burnet de Kemney:

Je suis bien aise d'apprendre ce que vous dites à Mad. l'Electrice de la lettre escrite par un gentilhomme Ecossois et du livre de M. Toland qui sera publié maintenant. Il paroist homme d'esprit et de sçavoir, et il semble seulement qu'il a besoin d'un peu plus de moderation: c'est ce que j'ay jugé particulièrement dans la vie de Milton. . . .

Je reviens à M. Toland dont vous parlés dans vostre lettre, et que je seray bien aise de voir un jour. Je croirois aisement qu'on luy a fait tort, et que la liberté qu'il s'est donnée (quelquefois un peu excessive peutestre) a donné mauvaise opinion de luy. Car c'est la mauvaise coustume des ignorans d'appeller Athées tous ceux qui ne se rendent pas à tous préjugés, et quand on aime la veritable liberté, on n'est pas republicain pour cela, puisque la liberté raisonnable se trouve plus assurée, lorsque le Ray et les assemblées sont liées par de bonnes loix que lorsque le pouvoir arbitraire est dans le Roy ou dans la multitude.¹

It is not, however, from Toland himself that Leibnitz knew of Harrington and his ideas. During the period in question, English ideas seem to have spread in Europe to a great extent by means of the periodicals published in Holland from the last decades of the seventeenth century onward. In a letter to Burnet de Kemney, Leibnitz points out and regrets this fact. He would rather have had exact knowledge directly from England about the things going on there:

Je n'auray jamais grande curiosité pour voir un auteur qui voudra refuter aujourd'hui la circulation du sang, comme fait vostre Ellis dont je n'avois pas encor ouy parler. Car on n'apprend ordinairement de vos livres que ce que les Hollandois nous en apprennent, qui ne sont pas les meilleurs juges du

¹ Leibnitz, "Letter to Burnet de Kemney, June or July, 1701," *Werke*, VIII, 271 ff.

monde. Je voudrais qu'on entreprît chez vous un journal des sçavans, qui ne s'attachât pas tant à traduire ce que font les autres journaux, comme ceux que j'ay vûs, qu'à rapporter ce qui se fait en Angleterre.¹

It was obviously to one of these periodicals that Leibnitz owed his knowledge of Harrington. The *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (Septembre, 1700, pp. 243-263) contained a review of Toland's edition of Harrington's *Works*. Toland's *Life* and the several pieces of the edition were here summed up but no extracts were given. The periodical was edited at Amsterdam by Jaques Bernard from the year 1699 onward. It is evident that Leibnitz had got his idea of the commonwealth of Oceana from this paper.

The occasion that drew forth from Leibnitz his knowledge of Harrington was not, however, his correspondence with Toland. It arose out of the political situation. The succession of the house of Hanover was, as is well known, of paramount interest in England about 1700. A document in point is the so-called *Memorial to the Princess Sophia*. This pamphlet has been ascribed to various authors, among them one George Smyth. The *Memorial* teems with allusions and ideas gathered from Harrington. In this way, Smyth might be the writer, as his *Vanity of Conquests* betrays intimacy with the doctrines and ideas of Harrington and his disciples.²

¹ Leibnitz, *op. cit.* (ed. Klopp), VIII, 271 ff.

² " 'Tis the Remark of that Ingenious Gentleman, Mr. *Andrew Marvel*, that those that take upon themselves to be Writers, are mov'd to it either by Ambition or Charity; imagining that they shall do therein something to make themselves Famous, or that they can communicate something that may be delightful and profitable to Mankind. But therefore it is either way an envious and dangerous Employment: for how well soever it be intended, the World will have some Pretence or other to suspect, that the Author hath too good a Conceit of his own Sufficiency, and that by undertaking to teach them, he implicitly accuses their Ignorance; so that not to write at all is much the safer Course of Life; but if a Man's Fate or Genius prompt him otherwise, 'tis necessary that he be copious in Matter, solid in Reason, methodical in the Order of his Work, and that the Subject be well chosen, the Season well fix'd; and, to be short, that his whole Production be matur'd to see the Light by a just Course of Time, and judicious Deliberation; otherwise, tho' with some of these Conditions, he may perhaps attain Commendation, yet without them all he cannot deserve Pardon."—GEORGE SMYTH, *The Vanity of Conquest and Universal Monarchy* (London, 1705), Preface.

A second conjectural author of the *Memorial* is Bishop Burnet, who took a strong and personal interest in the affairs of the Princess Sophia, as is evident from an undated letter written by her to the Bishop:

Comme j'ay tousjours eu une estime tres particuliere pour le merite de V.R., et que j'ay crû la connoistre par ses escrits, V.R. pourra aisement juger par là, combien les marques de vostre amitié m'ont esté agreables. Je vous assure que je les estime tres particulierement, et que je suis fort reconnoissante de la ferveur qu'il vous a plû tesmoigner pour mes interets, ce qui est une aussi grande satisfaction pour ma personne que si vos bonnes intentions eussent mieux reussi.¹

For our purpose, however, the most important document relating to the succession of the house of Hanover in England relates to the statesman George Stepney, who evidently was also a student of Harrington's.²

There is a letter from Stepney to the Princess Sophia, dated London, September 11-21, 1700, in which he discusses the question of the succession to the English crown and tenta-

¹ Leibnitz, *op. cit.* (ed. Klopp; Hanover, 1873), VII, 75 ff., also *ibid.*, p. 178.

² "George Stepney, Esq. of the family of Prendergast, in Pembrokeshire, was son of Sir Thomas Stepney, Kt. His father resided in Westminster, where Mr. Stepney was born in 1663. Fortunately for him he received his education at that place, where a mutual regard commenced between him and Charles Montague, Esq., indeed they were inseparable both there and at Trinity College in Cambridge. The latter, after various state employments, rose to be Earl of Halifax and had equally with his friend a taste for letters. Montague, viewing Stepney with partiality, determined to graft upon the writer of some very indifferent poetry, the diplomatic character. Stepney had compared James II, on his accession, to Hercules; but the two friends deserted the cause of James II when William came over, and enlisted under his banner, where they made a considerable figure. This minor poet was sent in a public capacity to the courts of the Emperor of Germany, the king of Poland, and the Electors of Saxony, Mentz, Treves, Cologne, Palatine, and Brandenburg; the Landgrave of Hesse; the Congress at Frankfort; and the States of Holland. These negotiations employed his time from 1692 to 1706; but he had been appointed a lord of trade in 1697. There can be little doubt he would never have been a serviceable subject, having been so much employed, had he lived, but he died at Chelsea in 1707, aged 44. The poems he published are now little known, and less read. As a statesman he seems to have had great powers, and was an amiable and accomplished gentleman. Mr. Stepney was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a monument to his memory. The same zeal which friendship shewed him living has pourtrayed his character on the marble, with an attention to dates so numerous and minute as to overlay the inscription, and confound rather than inform the readers."—NOBLE, I, 175 (*Somers' Tracts* [London, 1814], XI, 195).

tively asks the Princess herself "de m'expliquer ce qu'elle souhaite (par un seul mot de la plume de M. de Leibnitz ou quelque autre de sa suite)." He affirms that, in spite of the sufferings of England in the reigns of Charles I and James II and the English love of liberty, the foreigners who believe that the English nation dislikes monarchy and wishes to introduce a republican government, are wrong. It is true, he added, that turbulent spirits amuse themselves more than ever reading dangerous books on this subject, Sydney, Harrington, and others, but the English spirit is *not* inclined towards republicanism:¹

Les malheurs que les Anglais ont essayés du temps des Rois Charles premier et Jacques second, et l'amour excessif que nous témoignons avoir pour la liberté, fait croire, surtout aux étrangers, que nous avons un dégoût general contre la Monarchie même, et que nostre penchant naturel pour des Nouveautés nous pourroit entraîner aisement à tenter encore s'il y a moyen de

¹ Cf. Stepney's *Essay*: "I beg leave to address myself to such as imagine, that when our present settlement (the succession to the crown) is run out, a commonwealth may be set up, and are therefore against enlarging it. Their hopes I conceive to be ill founded for the following reasons:

"First, Because there is a great majority against them throughout the people of England, nine in ten of which are for sticking to the ancient constitution.

"Secondly, Because there are not ten commonwealthsmen in England agreed upon any scheme or plan of government, for which reason 'tis impossible they should ever act with so much steadiness and unanimity as would be requisite. This truth is manifestly confirmed by the experience of that variety of governments which were set up successively after Cromwell's death; and which all ended in bringing in King Charles the Second of pious memory.

"Thirdly, Because their adversaries would act in concert, being united under one head; and whatever may be objected against monarchy when settled, 'tis certainly, in turbulent times, the government most likely to prevail.

"Fourthly, If by a commonwealth they mean a free government, and would be satisfied with the thing, though it want the name of republick, 'tis far more probable to attain that end by settling the succession, than by any other way; since it may be done with such limitations as will abundantly secure our freedom. 'Tis therefore to be hoped that the present parliament will take this matter into their serious consideration, and by complying with the earnest wishes of all honest men who expect it, defeat the artifices of our most dangerous domestick foes."—GEORGE STEPNEY, *Essay upon the Present Interest of England* (*Somers' Tracts* [London, 1814], XI, 209).

former une Republique sur un fondement si solide que l'ambition d'un seul homme ne soit pas capable de la renverser, comme fit Cromwell. Il est vray aussi que les esprits inquiets, dont nostre pays est si fertile, s'amusent plus que jamais à feuilleter des livres dangereux qui traittent [*sic!*] cette matiere sc. Sydney: *Of Government*, Harrington's *Oceana* etc., dont le dernier est fameux pour avoir esté écrit par un habile homme du temps de la rebellion, et pour être publié d'une belle impression depuis peu par un libertin nommé Tolon [Toland!], comme si la conjoncture presente favorisoit des sentiments semblables. Mais malgré nostre legereté ordinaire et les artifices des malheureux (qui n'ont d'autre esperance à faire fortune que dans les desordres publics), j'ose bien assurer V.A.E. pour le peu que je connois le genie des Anglois, qu'il est nullement porté aux principes Republicains. Le systeme de nos loix y est entierement contraire. Le souvenir de l'an 1648 nous fait encore horreur; aussi bien que l'apparence des guerres civiles que nous avons à essayer infaliblement avant que de convenir de la forme dont nous voulons avoir nostre Republique imaginaire. Les seigneurs ne souffriront pas que le peuple leur soit égal, comme en Holland; et les communs ne se soumettront jamais à la tyrannie despotique des seigneurs, selon le modele de Venise. Un melange de ces deux Estats avec un Capitaine-General pour *l'image visible du gouvernement*, est un projet assez joli sur le papier, mais on le trouvera impossible lorsqu'on le voudroit mettre en pratique chez nous. On ne conviendra jamais d'un chef qui soit natif du pays, tant la jalousie est generale qu'une maison illustre ne le devroit emporter sur toutes les autres. Encore faut-il avouer, malgré la honte que nous en devrions avoir, que parmi nostre degenerée noblesse on ne trouvera pas un seul sujet qui ait assez de vertu distinguée pour meriter cette dignité, ou assez de cœur même pour y oser pretendre.¹

Stepney's letter is also referred to in Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover* (Wien, 1875 ff.), VIII, 562 n. Klopp seems to know nothing of the question here treated.²

Stepney got two answers to this letter, one from the Princess Sophia and one from Leibnitz himself, dated Zell, January 18,

¹ Leibnitz, *op. cit.* (ed. Klopp; Hanover, 1873), VIII, 209 f. The letter is quoted in O. Meinardus, *Die Succession des Hauses Hannover in England und Leibnitz* (Oldenburg, 1878), pp. 65 ff., but in this work there is nothing about the present aspect of the question.

² According to Klopp, *Fall*, VIII, 561, there is a big collection of Stepney papers in the British Museum.

1701. In this second letter, Leibnitz discusses only the succession, but he reverts at length to Harrington in June or July, 1701, when writing to Burnet de Kemney. Some parts of the original letter were suppressed in the one actually dispatched:

Le but de la science politique à l'égard de la doctrine des formes des Republiques doit estre de faire fleurir l'Empire de la raison. Le but de la Monarchie est de faire regner un Heros d'une eminente sagesse et vertu, tel que vostre Roy d'à present. Le but de l'Aristocratie est de donner le gouvernement aux plus sages et aux plus experts. Le but de la Democratie ou politie est de faire convenir les peuples mêmes de ce qui est de leur bien. Et s'il y avoit tout à la fois, un grand Heros, des senateurs tres sages, et des citoyens tres raisonnables: cela feroit le meslange des trois formes. Le pouvoir arbitraire est ce qui est directement opposé à l'Empire de la raison. Mais il faut savoir que ce pouvoir arbitraire se peut trouver non seulement dans les Rois, mais encore dans des assemblées, lorsque les cabales et les animosités y prevalent à la raison. Ce qui arrive dans les tribunaux des juges, aussi bien que dans les deliberations publiques. Le remede de la pluralité des voix données soit publiquement soit en secret en ballotant, n'est pas suffisant pour reprimer ces abus. Les ballotations servent en quelque maniere contre les cabales et font qu'il est plus difficile de s'asseurer des suffrages par de mauvaises voyes. Mais ont cet inconvenient que chacun peut suivre son caprice et ses mauvais desseins, sans avoir la honte d'estre decouvert et sans estre obligé à en rendre raison. Ainsi il faudroit penser dans le monde à des loix qui pussent servir à restreindre le pouvoir arbitraire non seulement dans les Rois, mais encor dans les députés des peuples et dans les juges. Vostre Harrington (dans son *Oceana*) avoit pour but de recommander une maniere de republique qui fût des meilleures. Je n'ay pas encor vû son livre, mais les extraits que j'en ay vûs, me font douter qu'il ait assez percé jusqu'au fonds de cette importante matiere. Je trouve seulement qu'il a eu raison de recommander le gouvernement des Provinces Unis, où l'on se range assez ordinairement à la raison dans les matieres importantes de l'estat. C'est entre autres parce qu'on n'y suit pas aveuglement la pluralité des voix, mais on la mesle avec ce qui s'appelle composition amiable: c'est une maniere de traiter où l'un tache de mener l'autre à son but à force de persuasions. Mais comme cette voye est tres vague et ne sert de rien avec des opiniastres et mal intentionnés, on pourroit inventer certaines loix tres practicables et tres efficaces, pour reprimer des abus, que l'ignorance, la passion et la malice font naistre. (L'une de ces loix seroit qu'on fût obligé de donner des voix par escrit, et lorsque le nombre est trop grand qu'on n'en marquât que la quintessence, et les pensées que l'un adjoute à celles des autres,

puisqu'après la communication de ces voix preliminaires, il fût permis d'examiner mutuellement leur solidité par une methode qui empêcherait les redites et meneroit naturellement à la decision. Il faudroit aussi que ceux qui ont donné des voix en fussent responsables un jour dans d'autres assemblées à quoy les protocoles leur serviroient etc.). Ce n'est pas assez d'empêcher la cour de gagner les suffrages pour exercer son pouvoir arbitraire. Il faudroit aussi que le pouvoir arbitraire de ceux qui prennent à tache de contrecarrer sans sujet de bons conseils, soit refrené. Autrement il est assuré que la liberté degenerée en licence se perdra et retombera sous le pouvoir absolu, soit d'un estranger ou d'un homme du pays. Car il est seur aussi: que le pouvoir absolu des Rois est plus durable que la licence des particuliers, et rien n'est plus propre à introduire la tyrannie que cette anarchie. Surtout à present les fautes sont dangereuses en matiere d'estat, à cause de la puissance transcendante de la maison de Bourbon, à la vue de laquelle on ne sçauroit en faire impunement. Dieu veuille conserver longtemps le Roy; mais s'il venoit à mourir dans un temps, où l'on n'ait pas encor pris de bonnes mesures chez vous et ailleurs, gare le prince de Galles. [Lorsque ceux qui dominent dans une assemblée ne veulent point écouter des raisons fortes et qui sautent aux yeux sur des matieres de grande consequence pour le salut de l'estat, c'est une marque assurée de leur mauvaise intention, et on peut dire qu'il n'y a point de pires sourds que ceux qui ne veulent point entendre. Par exemple si dans une deliberation du parlement quelques gens outrés soutenoient que l'Angleterre seule sans troupes réglées au dedans et sans alliances au dehors se peut soutenir contre toute la puissance estrangere, pourveu qu'elle ait une bonne flotte; si quelque officier de marine representoit qu'une flotte ne sauroit estre partout, et que ce seroit mettre le salut de l'estat à la merci des vents et des vagues, et qu'ainsi une flotte seule ne sauroit donner assurance contre la descente d'une puissance considerable, tesmoin des exemples tres recens, et si cette remonstrance estoit méprisée par une cabale de personnes mal intentionnées; je dirois que cette cabale exerceroit un pouvoir arbitraire dans une telle assemblée se soulevant hautement contre l'Empire de la raison.¹]

In how far Leibnitz had penetrated into the matter of *Oceana* is difficult to tell from this single letter. This much is evident, however: some of Harrington's political theories aroused the attention and interest of the German philosopher. That the model of a commonwealth proposed by Harrington should appeal less strongly to Leibnitz was to be expected. He mentions

¹ Leibnitz, *op. cit.* (ed. Klopp), VIII, 267-270; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 273 ff.

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the ballot only, among the practical devices of the republic of Oceana. But Harrington's General Introduction, in which he discusses the character of the state and its general foundations, was more in Leibnitz' line, and it has left clear traces in the letter. The difference is that Leibnitz was abstractly interested in the structure of the state, its underlying principles, whereas Harrington's purpose was a concrete model.

THE BAROQUE STYLE IN PROSE

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I. INTRODUCTION

In the latter years of the sixteenth century a change declared itself in the purposes and forms of the arts of Western Europe for which it is hard to find a satisfactory name. One would like to describe it, because of some interesting parallels with a later movement, as the first modern manifestation of the Romantic Spirit; and it did, in fact, arise out of a revolt against the classicism of the high Renaissance. But the terms "romantic" and "classical" are both perplexing and unphilosophical; and their use should not be extended. It would be much clearer and more exact to describe the change in question as a radical effort to adapt traditional modes and forms of expression to the uses of a self-conscious modernism; and the style that it produced was actually called in several of the arts—notably in architecture and prose-writing—the "modern" or "new" style. But the term that most conveniently describes it is "baroque." This term, which was at first used only in architecture, has lately been extended to cover the facts that present themselves at the same time in sculpture and in painting; and it may now properly be used to describe, or at least to name, the characteristic modes of expression in all the arts during a certain period—the period, that is, between the high Renaissance and the eighteenth century; a period that begins in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, reaches a culmination at about 1630, and thenceforward gradually modifies its character under new influences.

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Expressiveness rather than formal beauty was the pretension of the new movement, as it is of every movement that calls itself modern. It disdained complacency, suavity, copiousness, emptiness, ease, and in avoiding these qualities sometimes obtained effects of contortion or obscurity, which it was not always willing to regard as faults. It preferred the forms that express the energy and labor of minds seeking the truth, not without dust and heat, to the forms that express a contented sense of the enjoyment and possession of it. In a single word, the motions of souls, not their states of rest, had become the themes of art.

The meaning of these antitheses may be easily illustrated in the history of Venetian painting, which passes, in a period not longer than one generation, from the self-contained and relatively symmetrical designs of Titian, through the swirls of Tintoretto, to the contorted and aspiring lines that make the paintings of El Greco so restless and exciting. Poetry moves in the same way at about the same time; and we could metaphorically apply the terms by which we distinguish El Greco from Titian to the contrast between the rhythms of Spenser and the Petrarcans, on one hand, and the rhythms of Donne, on the other, between the style of Ariosto and the style of Tasso. In the sculptures of Bernini (in his portrait busts as well as in his more famous and theatrical compositions) we may again observe how ideas of motion take the place of ideas of rest; and the operation of this principle is constantly to be observed also in the school of architecture associated with the same artist's name. "In the façade of a Baroque church," says Geoffrey Scott, "a movement, which in the midst of a Bramantesque design would be destructive and repugnant, is turned to account and made the basis of a more dramatic, but not less satisfying treatment, the motive of which is not peace, but energy."¹

¹ *The Architecture of Humanism*, p. 225.

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And finally the change that takes place in the prose style of the same period—the change, that is, from Ciceronian to anti-Ciceronian forms and ideas—is exactly parallel with those that were occurring in the other arts, and is perhaps more useful to the student of the baroque impulse than any of the others, because it was more self-conscious, more definitely theorized by its leaders, and more clearly described by its friends and foes. In some previous studies I have considered the triumph of the anti-Ciceronian movement at considerable length; but I have been concerned chiefly with the theory of the new style; and my critics have complained, justly, that I have been too difficult, or even abstract. In the present study I hope to correct this defect. Its purpose is to describe the *form* of anti-Ciceronian, or baroque, prose.

There are of course several elements of prose technique: diction, or the choice of words; the choice of figures; the principle of balance or rhythm; the form of the period, or sentence; and in a full description of baroque prose all of these elements would have to be considered. The last-mentioned of them—the form of the period—is, however, the most important and the determinant of the others; and this alone is to be the subject of discussion in the following pages.

The anti-Ciceronian period was sometimes described in the seventeenth century as an “exploded” period; and this metaphor is very apt if it is taken as describing solely its outward appearance, the mere fact of its form. For example, here is a period from Sir Henry Wotton, a typical expression of the political craft of the age:

Men must beware of running down steep places with weighty bodies; they once in motion, *suo feruntur pondere*; steps are not then voluntary.

The members of this period stand farther apart one from another than they would in a Ciceronian sentence; there are no syntactic connectives between them whatever; and semicolons

or colons are necessary to its proper punctuation. In fact, it has the appearance of having been disrupted by an explosion within.

The metaphor would be false, however, if it should be taken as describing the manner in which this form has been arrived at. For it would mean that the writer first shaped a round and complete oratorical period in his mind and then partly undid his work. And this, of course, does not happen. Wotton gave this passage its form, not by demolishing a Ciceronian period, but by omitting several of the steps by which roundness and smoothness of composition might have been attained. He has deliberately avoided the processes of mental revision in order to express his idea when it is nearer the point of its origin in his mind.

We must stop for a moment on the word *deliberately*. The negligence of the anti-Ciceronian masters, their disdain of revision, their dependence upon casual and emergent devices of construction, might sometimes be mistaken for mere indifference to art or contempt of form; and it is, in fact, true that Montaigne and Burton, even Pascal and Browne, are sometimes led by a dislike of formality into too licentious a freedom. Yet even their extravagances are purposive, and express a creed that is at the same time philosophical and artistic. Their purpose was to portray, not a thought, but a mind thinking, or, in Pascal's words, *la peinture de la pensée*. They knew that an idea separated from the act of experiencing it is not the idea that was experienced. The ardor of its conception in the mind is a necessary part of its truth; and unless it can be conveyed to another mind in something of the form of its occurrence, either it has changed into some other idea or it has ceased to be an idea, to have any existence whatever except a verbal one. It was the latter fate that happened to it, they believed, in the Ciceronian periods of sixteenth-century Latin rhetoricians. The successive processes of revision to which these periods had been submitted had removed them from reality by just so many steps. For themselves, they preferred to present the truth of

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experience in a less concocted form, and deliberately chose as the moment of expression that in which the idea first clearly objectifies itself in the mind, in which, therefore, each of its parts still preserves its own peculiar emphasis and an independent vigor of its own—in brief, the moment in which truth is still *imagined*.

The form of a prose period conceived in such a theory of style will differ in every feature from that of the conventional period of an oratorical, or Ciceronian, style; but its most conspicuous difference will appear in the way it connects its members or clauses one with another. In the period quoted above from Wotton the members are syntactically wholly free; there are no ligatures whatever between one and another. But there is another type of anti-Ciceronian period, in which the ordinary marks of logical succession—conjunctions, pronouns, etc.—are usually present, but are of such a kind or are used in such a way as to bind the members together in a characteristically loose and casual manner. The difference between the two types thus described may seem somewhat unimportant; and it is true that they run into each other and cannot always be sharply distinguished. The most representative anti-Ciceronians, like Montaigne and Browne, use them both and intermingle them. But at their extremes they are not only distinguishable; they serve to distinguish different types, or schools, of seventeenth-century style. They derive from different models, belong to different traditions, and sometimes define the philosophical affiliations of the authors who prefer them.

They will be considered here separately; the first we will call, by a well-known seventeenth-century name, the *période coupé*, or, in an English equivalent, the 'curt period' (so also the *stile coupé*, or the 'curt style'); the other by the name of the 'loose period' (and the 'loose style'); though several other appropriate titles suggest themselves in each case.¹

¹ For example, the *stile coupé* was sometimes called *stile serré* ('serried style'), and Francis Thompson has used this term in describing a kind of period common in Browne. For synonyms of 'loose style' see a succeeding section of this paper (§ III).

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II. STILE COUPÉ

I

One example of the *période coupé* has already been given. Here are others:¹

Pour moy, qui ne demande qu'à devenir plus sage, non plus sçavant ou éloquent, ces ordonnances logiciennes et aristoteliques ne sont pas à propos; je veulx qu'on commence par le dernier point: j'entends assez que c'est que Mort et Volupté; qu'on ne s'amuse pas à les anatomizer.—MONTAIGNE, II, 10, "Des Livres."

'Tis not worth the reading, I yield it, I desire thee not to lose time in perusing so vain a subject, I should peradventure be loth myself to read him or thee so writing; 'tis not *operæ pretium*.—BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "To the Reader."

No armor can defend a fearful heart. It will kill itself within.—FELLTHAM, *Resolves*, "Of Fear and Cowardice."

Mais il faut parier; cela n'est pas volontaire; vous êtes embarqués.—PASCAL, *Pensées*, Article II.

L'éloquence continue ennue.

✱ Les princes et les rois jouent quelquefois. Ils ne sont pas toujours sur leurs trônes; ils s'y ennuiant: la grandeur a besoin d'être quittée pour être sentie.—PASCAL, *Pensées*, "Sur l'Éloquence."

The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on: for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my recreation.—BROWNE, *Religio Medici*, II, 11.

Il y a des hommes qui attendent à être dévots et religieux que tout le monde se déclare impie et libertin: ce sera alors le parti du vulgaire; ils sauront s'en dégager.—LA BRUYÈRE, *Des Esprits Forts*.

In all of these passages, as in the period quoted from Wotton, there are no two main members that are syntactically connected. But it is apparent also that the characteristic style that they have in common contains several other features besides this.

In the first place, each member is as short as the most alert intelligence would have it. The period consists, as some of its

¹ The punctuation in all cases is that of editions which profess to follow in this respect good seventeenth-century editions or manuscripts.

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admirers were wont to say, of the nerves and muscles of speech alone; it is as hard-bitten, as free of soft or superfluous flesh, as "one of Caesar's soldiers."¹

Second, there is a characteristic order, or mode of progression, in a curt period that may be regarded either as a necessary consequence of its omission of connectives or as the causes and explanation of this. We may describe it best by observing that the first member is likely to be a self-contained and complete statement of the whole idea of the period. It is so because writers in this style like to avoid prearrangements and preparations; they begin, as Montaigne puts it, at *le dernier point*, the point aimed at. The first member therefore exhausts the mere fact of the idea; logically there is nothing more to say. But it does not exhaust its imaginative truth or the energy of its conception. It is followed, therefore, by other members, each with a new tone or emphasis, each expressing a new apprehension of the truth expressed in the first. We may describe the progress of a curt period, therefore, as a series of imaginative moments occurring in a logical pause or suspension. Or—to be less obscure—we may compare it with successive flashes of a jewel or prism as it is turned about on its axis and takes the light in different ways.

It is true, of course, that in a series of propositions there will always be some logical process; the truth stated will undergo some development or change. For example, in the sentence from Montaigne on page 432, the later members add something to the idea; and in the quotation from Pascal's *Pensées sur l'Éloquence*, on the same page, the thought suddenly enlarges in the final member. Yet the method of advance is not logical; the form does not express it. Each member, in its main intention, is a separate act of imaginative realization.

In the third place, one of the characteristics of the curt style

¹ The phrase comes from a midseventeenth-century work on prose style (*Precetti*, repr. Milan, 1822) by Daniello Bartoli, and is there applied to *il dir moderno*.

is deliberate asymmetry of the members of a period; and it is this trait that especially betrays the modernistic character of the style. The chief mark of a conventional, or "classical," art, like that of the sixteenth century, is an approximation to evenness in the size and form of the balanced parts of a design; the mark of a modernistic art, like that of the seventeenth, and the nineteenth and twentieth, centuries, is the desire to achieve an effect of balance or rhythm among parts that are obviously not alike—the love of "some strangeness in the proportions."

In a prose style asymmetry may be produced by varying the length of the members within a period. For example, part of the effect of a sentence from Bishop Hall is due to a variation in this respect among members which nevertheless produce the effect of balance or rhythmic design.

What if they [crosses and adversities] be unpleasant? They are physic; it is enough if they be wholesome.¹—HALL, *Heaven upon Earth*, XIII.

But the desired effect is more characteristically produced by conspicuous differences of form, either with or without differences of length. For instance, a characteristic method of the seventeenth century was to begin a succession of members with different kinds of subject-words. In the sentence from Wotton (page 429) the first two members have personal subjects, the third the impersonal "steps"; in the following from Pascal the opposite change is made.

Mais il faut prier; cela n'est pas volontaire; vous êtes embarqués.

In both of these periods, moreover, each of the three members has a distinct and individual turn of phrase, meant to be different from the others. Again, in the period of La Bruyère quoted on page 432 each new member involves a shift of the mind to a new subject. (Observe also the asymmetry of the members in point of length.)

¹ Note how exactly this reproduces a movement characteristic of Seneca: "Quid tua, uter [Caesar or Pompey] vincat? Potest melior vincere: non potest non pejor esse qui vicerit."

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Sometimes, again, asymmetry is produced by a change from literal to metaphoric statement, or by the reverse, or by a change from one metaphor to another, as in the last example quoted from Pascal, where the metaphor of one embarked upon a ship abruptly takes the place of that of a man engaged in a bet. Or there may be a leap from the concrete to the abstract form; and this is an eminently characteristic feature of the *stile coupé* because this style is always tending toward the aphorism, or *pensée*, as its ideal form. The second passage quoted from Pascal on page 432 illustrates this in a striking way. It is evident that in the first three members—all concrete, about kings and princes—the author's mind is turning toward a general truth, which emerges complete and abstract in the last member: *La grandeur a besoin d'être quittée pour être sentie*.

The curt style, then, is not characterized only by the trait from which it takes its name, its omission of connectives. It has the four marks that have been described: first, studied brevity of members; second, the hovering, imaginative order; third, asymmetry; and fourth, the omission of the ordinary syntactic ligatures. None of these should, of course, be thought of separately from the others. Each of them is related to the rest and more or less involves them; and when they are all taken together they constitute a definite rhetoric, which was employed during the period from 1575 to 1675 with as clear a knowledge of its tradition and its proper models as the sixteenth-century Ciceronians had of the history of the rhetoric that they preferred.

In brief, it is a Senecan style; and, although the imitation of Seneca never quite shook off the imputation of literary heresy that had been put upon it by the Augustan purism of the preceding age, and certain amusing cautions and reservations were therefore felt to be necessary, yet nearly all of the theorists of the new style succeeded in expressing their devotion to their real master in one way or another. Moreover, they were well aware that the characteristic traits of Seneca's style were not his alone,

but had been elaborated before him in the Stoic schools of the Hellenistic period; and all the earlier practitioners of the *stile coupé*, Montaigne (in his first phase), Lipsius, Hall, Charron, etc., write not only as literary Senecans, but rather more as philosophical Stoics.

Senecanism and Stoicism are, then, the primary implications of *stile coupé*. It must be observed, however, that a style once established in general use may cast away the associations in which it originated; and this is what happened in the history of the curt style. Montaigne, for instance, confessed that he had so thoroughly learned Seneca's way of writing that he could not wholly change it even when his ideas and tastes had changed and he had come to prefer other masters. And the same thing is to be observed in many writers of the latter part of the century: St. Evrémond, Halifax, and La Bruyère, for instance. Though these writers are all definitely anti-Stoic and anti-Senecan, all of them show that they had learned the curt style too well ever to unlearn it or to avoid its characteristic forms; and there was no great exaggeration in Shaftesbury's complaint, at the very end of the century, that no other movement of style than Seneca's—what he calls the "Senecan amble"—had been heard in prose for a hundred years past.

2

The curt or serried style depends for its full effect upon the union of the several formal traits that have been described in the preceding section. We have assumed hitherto that these traits are as rigorous and unalterable as if they were prescribed by a rule; and in the examples cited there have been no significant departures from any of them. But of course slight variations are common even in passages that produce the effect of *stile coupé*; and some searching is necessary to discover examples as pure as those that have been cited. This is so evidently true that it would need no illustration except for the fact

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that certain kinds of period eminently characteristic of seventeenth-century prose arise from a partial violation of the "rules" laid down. Two of these may be briefly described.

a) In a number of writers (Browne, Felltham, and South, for example) we often find a period of two members connected by *and*, *or*, or *nor*, which evidently has the character of *stile coupé* because the conjunction has no logical *plus* force whatever. It merely connects two efforts of the imagination to realize the same idea; two as-it-were synchronous statements of it. The following from Browne will be recognized as characteristic of him:

"Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easy metaphor we may say the sword of faith.—*Religio Medici*, I, 10.

Again:

Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a child before the days of dotage; and stand in need of Aeson's bath before threescore.—*Ibid.*, I, 42.

Often, too, in a period consisting of a larger number of members the last two are connected by an *and* or the like. But this case can be illustrated in connection with the one that immediately follows.

b) The rule that the successive members of a *période coupée* are of different and often opposed forms, are asymmetrical instead of symmetrical, is sometimes partly violated inasmuch as these members begin with the same word or form of words, for example, with the same pronoun-subject, symmetry, parallelism, and some regularity of rhythm thus introducing themselves into a style that is designed primarily and chiefly to express a dislike of these frivolities. It is to be observed, however, that the members that begin with this suggestion of oratorical pattern usually break it in the words that follow. Except for their beginnings they are as asymmetrical as we expect them to be, and reveal that constant novelty and unexpectedness that is so characteristic of the "baroque" in all the arts.

One illustration is to be found in the style of the "character"

writings that enjoyed so great a popularity in the seventeenth century. The frequent recurrence of the same subject-word, usually *he* or *they*, is the mannerism of this style, and is sometimes carried over into other kinds of prose in the latter part of the century, as, for instance, in writings of La Bruyère that are not included within the limits of the character genre,¹ and in passages of Dryden. It is indeed so conspicuous a mannerism that it may serve to conceal what is after all the more significant feature of the "character" style, namely, the constant variation and contrast of form in members that begin in this formulistic manner.

The style of the "character," however, is that of a highly specialized genre; and the form of the period with reiterated introductory formula can be shown in its more typical character in other kinds of prose, as, for example, in a passage from Browne describing the Christian Stoicism of his age:

Let not the twelve but the two tables be thy law: let Pythagoras be thy remembrancer, not thy textuary and final instructor: and learn the vanity of the world rather from Solomon than Phocylides.²—*Christian Morals*, p. xxi.

Browne touches lightly on these repetitions, and uses them not too frequently. Balzac uses them characteristically and significantly. A paragraph from his *Entretiens* (No. XVIII, "De Montaigne et de ses Ecrits") may be quoted both in illustration of this fact and for the interest of its subject matter:

Nous demeurâmes d'accord que l'Auteur qui veut imiter Seneque commence par tout et finit par tout. Son Discours n'est pas un corps entier: c'est un corps en pieces; ce sont des membres coupez; et quoy que les parties soient proches les unes des autres, elles ne laissent pas d'estre separées. Non seulement il n'y a point de nerfs qui les joignent; il n'y a pas mesme de cordes ou d'aiguillettes qui les attachent ensemble: tant cet Auteur est ennemy de toutes sortes de liaisons, soit de la Nature, soit de l'Art: tant il s'esloigne de ces bons exemples que vous imitez si parfaitement.

¹ For instance, in the famous passage "De l'Homme" describing the beastlike life of the peasants of France.

² The period occurs in the midst of a paragraph in which each main member of each period begins with a verb in the imperative mood.

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The passage illustrates exactly Balzac's position in the prose development of the seventeenth century. Montaigne is indeed—in spite of his strictures upon him—his master. He aims, like Montaigne, at the philosophic ease and naturalness of the *genus humile*; he has his taste for aphorism, his taste for metaphor; he is full of "points," and loves to make them show; in short, he is "baroque." But by several means, and chiefly by the kinds of repetition illustrated in this passage (*c'est ... ce sont; il n'a point ... il n'y a pas mesme; tant ... tant*), he succeeds in introducing that effect of art, of form, of rhythm, for which Descartes and so many other of his contemporaries admired him. He combines in short the "wit" of the seventeenth century with at least the appearance of being "a regular writer," which came, in the forties and fifties, to be regarded in France as highly desirable. In his political writings, and especially in *Le Prince*, his iterated opening formula becomes too evident a mannerism, and on page after page one reads periods of the same form: two or three members beginning alike and a final member much longer and more elaborate than the preceding that may or may not begin in the same way. The effect is extremely rhetorical.

3

Finally, we have to observe that the typical *période coupée* need not be so short as the examples of it cited at the beginning of the present section. On the contrary, it may continue, without connectives and with all its highly accentuated peculiarities of form, to the length of five or six members. Seneca offered many models for this protracted aphoristic manner, as in the following passage from the *Naturales Quaestiones* (vii. 31):

There are mysteries that are not unveiled the first day: Eleusis keepeth back something for those who come again to ask her. Nature telleth not all her secrets at once. We think we have been initiated: we are still waiting in her vestibule. Those secret treasures do not lie open promiscuously to every one: they are kept close and reserved in an inner shrine.

Similar in form is this six-member period from Browne's *Religio Medici* (I, 7):

To see ourselves again we need not look for Plato's year: every man is not only himself; there have been many Diogeneses, and as many Timons, though but few of that name; men are lived over again; the world is now as it was in ages past; there was none then but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and is, as it were, his revived self.¹

What has been said in a previous section of the characteristic mode of progression in *stile coupé* is strikingly illustrated in such passages as these. Logically they do not move. At the end they are saying exactly what they were at the beginning. Their advance is wholly in the direction of a more vivid imaginative realization: a metaphor revolves, as it were, displaying its different facets; a series of metaphors flash their lights; or a chain of "points" and paradoxes reveals the energy of a single apprehension in the writer's mind. In the latter part of the seventeenth century a number of critics satirize this peculiarity of the Senecan form. Father Bouhours, for instance, observed that with all its pretensions to brevity and significance this style makes less progress in five or six successive statements than a Ciceronian period will often make in one long and comprehensive construction. The criticism is, of course, sound if the only mode of progression is the logical one; but in fact there is a progress of imaginative apprehension, a revolving and upward motion of the mind as it rises in energy, and views the same point from new levels; and this spiral movement is characteristic of baroque prose.

III. THE LOOSE STYLE

I

In the preceding pages we have been illustrating a kind of period in which the members are in most cases syntactically disjunct, and we have seen that in this style the members are

¹ Felltham uses this manner with too much self-consciousness. See, for instance, a passage on the terse style (*Resolves*, I, 20) beginning: "They that speak to Children assume a pretty lisping."

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characteristically short. It is necessary now to illustrate the other type of anti-Ciceronian style spoken of at the beginning, in which the members are usually connected by syntactic ligatures, and in which, therefore, both the members and the period as a whole may be, and in fact usually are, as long as in the Ciceronian style, or even longer.

It is more difficult to find an appropriate name for this kind of style than for the other. The "trailing" or "linked" style would describe a relation between the members of the period that is frequent and indeed characteristic, but is perhaps too specific a name. "Libertine" indicates exactly both the form of the style and the philosophical associations that it often implies; but it is wiser to avoid these implications in a purely descriptive treatment. There is but one term that is exact and covers the ground: the term "loose period" or "loose style"; and it is this that we will usually employ. In applying this term, however, the reader must be on his guard against a use of it that slipped into many rhetorical treatises of the nineteenth century. In these works the "loose sentence" was defined as one that has its main clause near the beginning; and an antithetical term "periodic sentence"—an improper one—was devised to name the opposite arrangement. "Loose period" is used here without reference to this confusing distinction.

In order to show its meaning we must proceed by means of examples; and we will take first a sentence—if, indeed, we can call it a sentence—in which Bacon contrasts the "Magistral" method of writing works of learning with the method of "Probation" appropriate to "induced knowledge," "the latter whereof [he says] seemeth to be *via deserta et interclusa*."

For as knowledges are now delivered, there is a kind of contract of error between the deliverer and the receiver: for he that delivereth knowledge desireth to deliver it in such form as may be best believed, and not as may be best examined; and he that receiveth knowledge desireth rather present

satisfaction than expectant inquiry; and so rather not to doubt than not to err: glory making the author not to lay open his weakness, and sloth making the disciple not to know his strength.—*Advancement of Learning*, Book I.

The passage is fortunate because it states the philosophy in which anti-Ciceronian prose has its origin and motive. But our present business is with its form; and in order to illustrate this we will place beside it another passage from another author.

Elle [l'Imagination] ne peut rendre sages les fous; mais elle les rend heureux à l'envi de la raison, qui ne peut rendre ses amis que misérables, l'une les couvrant de gloire, l'autre de honte.¹—PASCAL, *Pensées*, "L'Imagination."

There is a striking similarity in the way these two periods proceed. In each case an antithesis is stated in the opening members; then the member in which the second part of the antithesis is stated puts out a dependent member. The symmetrical development announced at the beginning is thus interrupted and cannot be resumed. The period must find a way out, a syntactic way of carrying on and completing the idea it carries. In both cases the situation is met in the same way, by a concluding member having the form of an absolute-participle construction, in which the antithetical idea of the whole is sharply, aphoristically resumed.

The two passages, in short, are written as if they were meant to illustrate in style what Bacon calls "the method of induced knowledge"; either they have no predetermined plan or they violate it at will; their progression adapts itself to the movements of a mind discovering truth as it goes, thinking while it writes. At the same time, and for the same reason, they illustrate the character of the style that we call "baroque." See, for instance, how symmetry is first made and then broken, as it is in so many baroque designs in painting and architecture; how there is constant swift adaptation of form to the emergencies

¹ There should, rhetorically speaking, be semicolons, not commas, after *raison* and *miserables*.

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that arise in an energetic and unpremeditated forward movement; and observe, further, that these signs of spontaneity and improvisation occur in passages loaded with as heavy a content as rhetoric ever has to carry. That is to say, they combine the effect of great mass with the effect of rapid motion; and there is no better formula than this to describe the ideal of the baroque design in all the arts.

But these generalizations are beyond our present purpose. We are to study the loose period first, as we did the curt period, by observing the character of its syntactic links. In the two sentences quoted there are, with a single exception, but two modes of connection employed. The first is by co-ordinating conjunctions, the conjunctions, that is, that allow the mind to move straight on from the point it has reached. They do not necessarily refer back to any particular point in the preceding member; nor do they commit the following member to a pre-determined form. In other words, they are the loose conjunctions, and disjoin the members they join as widely as possible. *And*, *but*, and *for* are the ones employed in the two sentences; and these are of course the necessary and universal ones. Other favorites of the loose style are *whereas*, *nor* (= *and not*), and the correlatives *though . . . yet*, *as . . . so*. Second, each of the two periods contains a member with an absolute-participle construction. In the loose style many members have this form, and not only (as in the two periods quoted) at the ends of periods, but elsewhere. Sir Thomas Browne often has them early in a period, as some passages to be cited in another connection will show. This is a phenomenon easily explained. For the absolute construction is the one that commits itself least and lends itself best to the solution of difficulties that arise in the course of a spontaneous and unpremeditated progress. It may state either a cause, or a consequence, or a mere attendant circumstance; it may be concessive or justificatory; it may be a summary of the preceding or a supplement to it; it may express

an idea related to the whole of the period in which it occurs, or one related only to the last preceding member.

The co-ordinating conjunctions and the absolute-participle construction indicate, then, the character of the loose period. Like the *stile coupé*, it is meant to portray the natural, or thinking, order; and it expresses even better than the curt period the anti-Ciceronian prejudice against formality of procedure and the rhetoric of the schools. For the omission of connectives in the *stile coupé* implies, as we have seen, a very definite kind of rhetorical form, which was practiced in direct imitation of classical models, and usually retained the associations that it had won in the Stoic schools of antiquity. The associations of the loose style, on the other hand, are all with the more skeptical phases of seventeenth-century thought—with what was then usually called "Libertinism"; and it appears characteristically in writers who are professed opponents of determined and rigorous philosophic attitudes. It is the style of Bacon and of Montaigne (after he has found himself), of La Mothe le Vayer, and of Sir Thomas Browne. It appears always in the letters of Donne; it appears in Pascal's *Pensées*; and, in the latter part of the century, when Libertinism had positively won the favor of the world away from Stoicism, it enjoyed a self-conscious revival, under the influence of Montaigne, in the writings of St. Évremond, Halifax, and Temple. Indeed, it is evident that, although the Senecan *stile coupé* attracted more critical attention throughout the century, its greatest achievements in prose were rather in the loose or Libertine manner. But it must also be said that most of the skeptics of the century had undergone a strong Senecan influence; and the styles of Montaigne, Browne, Pascal, and Halifax, for instance, can only be described as displaying in varying ways a mingling of Stoic and Libertine traits.

2

Besides the two syntactic forms that have been mentioned—the co-ordinating conjunctions and the absolute construction—

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there are no others that lend themselves by their nature to the loose style, except the parenthesis, which we need not illustrate here. But it must not be supposed that it tends to exclude other modes of connection. On the contrary, it obtains its characteristic effects from the syntactic forms that are logically more strict and binding, such as the relative pronouns and the subordinating conjunctions, by using them in a way peculiar to itself. That is to say, it uses them as the necessary logical means of advancing the idea, but relaxes at will the tight construction which they seem to impose; so that they have exactly the same effect as the loose connections previously described and must be punctuated in the same way. In other words, the parts that they connect are no more closely knit together than it chooses they shall be; and the reader of the most characteristic seventeenth-century prose soon learns to give a greater independence and autonomy to subordinate members than he would dare to do in reading any other.

The method may be shown by a single long sentence from Sir Thomas Browne:

I could never perceive any rational consequence from those many texts which prohibit the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the temples of the heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties *as* might profane our prayers, or the place wherein we make them; *or that* a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator anywhere, *especially* in places devoted to his service; *where*, if their devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it.¹—*Religio Medici*, I, 3.

The period begins with a statement complete in itself, which does not syntactically imply anything to follow it; an absolute participle carries on, in the second member. Thereafter the connectives are chiefly subordinating conjunctions. Observe particularly the use of *as*, *or that*, and *where*: how slight these ligatures are in view of the length and mass of the members they must carry. They are frail and small hinges for the weights that

¹ Italics are mine.

turn on them; and the period abounds and expands in non-chalant disregard of their tight, frail logic.

This example displays the principle; but of course a single passage can illustrate only a few grammatical forms. Some of those used with a characteristic looseness in English prose of the seventeenth century are: relative clauses beginning with *which*, or with *whereto*, *wherein*, etc.; participial constructions of the kind scornfully called "dangling" by the grammarians; words in a merely appositional relation with some noun or pronoun preceding, yet constituting a semi-independent member of a period; and of course such subordinating conjunctions as are illustrated above. It is unnecessary to illustrate these various cases.

3

The connections of a period cannot be considered separately from the order of the connected members; and, in fact, it is the desired order of development that determines the character of the connections rather than the reverse. In the oratorical period the arrangement of the members is "round" or "circular," in the sense that they are all so placed with reference to a central or climactic member that they point forward or back to it and give it its appropriate emphasis. This order is what is meant by the names *periodos*, *circuitus*, and "round composition," by which the oratorical period has been variously called; and it is the chief object of the many revisions to which its form is submitted.

The loose period does not try for this form, but rather seeks to avoid it. Its purpose is to express, as far as may be, the order in which an idea presents itself when it is first experienced. It begins, therefore, without premeditation, stating its idea in the first form that occurs; the second member is determined by the situation in which the mind finds itself after the first has been spoken; and so on throughout the period, each member being an emergency of the situation. The period—in theory, at

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least—is not made; it becomes. It completes itself and takes on form in the course of the motion of mind which it expresses. Montaigne, in short, exactly described the theory of the loose style when he said: “J’ecris volontiers sans project; le premier trait produit le second.”

The figure of a circle, therefore, is not a possible description of the form of a loose period; it requires rather the metaphor of a chain, whose links join end to end. The “linked” or “trailing” period is, in fact, as we have observed, an appropriate name for it. But there is a special case for which this term might better be reserved, unless we should choose to invent a more specific one, such as “end-linking,” or “terminal linking,” to describe it. It is when a member depends, not upon the general idea, or the main word, of the preceding member, but upon its final word or phrase alone. And this is, in fact, a frequent, even a characteristic, kind of linking in certain authors, notably Sir Thomas Browne and his imitators. The sentence last quoted offers two or three illustrations of it: the connective words *as*, *especially*, and *where* all refer to the immediately preceding words or phrases; and in another period by the same author there is one very conspicuous and characteristic instance.

As there were many reformers, so likewise many reformations; every country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national interest, together with their constitution and clime, inclined them: some angrily and with extremity; others calmly and with mediocrity, not rending, but easily dividing, the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation;—*which* though peaceable spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extremes,—their contrarities in condition, affection, and opinion,—may with the same hopes expect a union in the poles of heaven.—*Religio Medici*, I, 4.

Here the word *which* introduces a new development of the idea, running to as much as five lines of print; yet syntactically it refers only to the last preceding word *reconciliation*. The whole long passage has been quoted, however, not for this

reason alone, but because it illustrates so perfectly all that has been said of the order and connection of the loose period. It begins, characteristically, with a sharply formulated complete statement, implying nothing of what is to follow. Its next move is achieved by means of an absolute-participle construction.¹ This buds off a couple of appositional members; one of these budding again two new members by means of dangling participles. Then a *which* picks up the trail, and at once the sentence becomes involved in the complex, and apparently tight, organization of a *though . . . yet* construction. Nevertheless it still moves freely, digressing as it will, extricates itself from the complex form by a kind of *anacoluthon* (in the *yet* clause), broadening its scope, and gathering new confluents, till it ends, like a river, in an opening view.

The period, that is, moves straight onward everywhere from the point it has reached; and its construction shows ideally what we mean by the linked or trailing order. It is Browne's peculiar mastery of this construction that gives his writing constantly the effect of being, not the result of a meditation, but an actual meditation in process. He writes like a philosophical scientist making notes of his observation as it occurs. We see his pen move and stop as he thinks. To write thus, and at the same time to create beauty of cadence in the phrases and rhythm in the design—and so Browne constantly does—is to achieve a triumph in what Montaigne called "the art of being natural"; it is the eloquence, described by Pascal, that mocks at formal eloquence.

4

The period just quoted serves to introduce a final point concerning the form of the loose period. We have already observed that the second half of this period, beginning with *which*, has a complex suspended syntax apparently like that of the typical

¹ Observe that the period from Browne quoted on p. 415 begins with movements of the same kind.

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oratorical sentence. The anti-Ciceronian writer usually avoids such forms, it is true; most of his sentences are punctuated by colons and semicolons. But, of course, he will often find himself involved in a suspended construction from which he cannot escape. It remains to show that even in these cases he still proceeds in the anti-Ciceronian manner, and succeeds in following, in spite of the syntactic formalities to which he commits himself, his own emergent and experimental order. Indeed, it is to be observed that the characteristic quality of the loose style may appear more clearly in such difficult forms than in others. For baroque art always displays itself best when it works in heavy masses and resistant materials; and out of the struggle between a fixed pattern and an energetic forward movement often arrives at those strong and expressive disproportions in which it delights.

We shall return to Browne in a moment in illustration of the point, but we shall take up a simpler case first. In a well-known sentence, Pascal, bringing out the force of imagination, draws a picture of a venerable magistrate seated in church, ready to listen to a worthy sermon. *Le voilà prêt à l'ouïr avec un respect exemplaire.*

Que le prédicateur vienne à paraître: si la nature lui a donné une voix enrouée et un tour de visage bizarre, que son barbier l'ait mal rasé, si le hasard l'a encore barbouillé de surcroît, quelque grandes vérités qu'il annonce, je parie la perte de la gravité de notre sénateur.

Unquestionably a faulty sentence by all the school-rules! It begins without foreseeing its end, and has to shift the reader's glance from the preacher to the magistrate in the midst of its progress by whatever means it can. Observe the abruptness of the form of the member *quelques grandes vérités*. Observe the sudden appearance of the first person in the last member. Yet the critic who would condemn its rhetorical form would have also to declare that there is no art in those vivid dramatic narratives that so often appear in the conversation of animated

talkers; for this period moves in an order very common in such conversation.¹

In this passage the free and anti-Ciceronian character of the movement is chiefly due to its dramatic vividness and speed. It follows the order of life. Sometimes, however, we can see plainly that it is the mystical speculation of the seventeenth century that changes the regular form of the period and shapes it to its own ends. Sir Thomas Browne provides many interesting illustrations, as, for instance, in the period quoted in the preceding section, and in the following:

I would gladly know how Moses, with an actual fire, calcined or burnt the golden calf into powder: for that mystical metal of gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire, grows only hot, and liquefies, but consumeth not; so when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper, like gold, though they suffer from the action of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortal in the arms of fire.—*Religio Medici*, I, 50.

With the first half of this long construction we are not now concerned. In its second half, however, beginning with *so when*, we see one of those complex movements that have led some critics to speak of Browne as—of all things!—a Ciceronian. It is in fact the opposite of that. A Ciceronian period closes in at the end; it reaches its height of expansion and emphasis at the middle or just beyond, and ends composedly. Browne's sentence, on the contrary, opens constantly outward; its motions become more animated and vigorous as it proceeds; and it ends, as his sentences are likely to do, in a vision of vast space or time, losing itself in an *altitudo*, a hint of infinity. As, in a previously quoted period, everything led up to the phrase, "a union in the poles of heaven," so in this everything leads up to the concluding phrase, "but lie immortal in the arms of fire." And as we

¹ It may be said that Pascal's *Pensées* should not be cited in illustration of prose form because they were written without revision and without thought of publication. But a good deal of characteristic prose of the time was so written; and the effect at which Bacon, Burton, Browne, and many others aimed was of prose written in that way.

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study the form of the structure we can even observe where this ending revealed itself, or, at least, how it was prepared. The phrase "like gold" is the key to the form of the whole. After a slow expository member, this phrase, so strikingly wrenched from its logical position, breaks the established and expected rhythm, and is a signal of more agitated movement, of an ascending effort of imaginative realization that continues to the end. In a different medium, the period closely parallels the technique of an El Greco composition, where broken and tortuous lines in the body of the design prepare the eye for curves that leap upward beyond the limits of the canvas.

The forms that the loose period may assume are infinite, and it would be merely pedantic to attempt a classification of them. In one of the passages quoted we have seen the dramatic sense of reality triumphing over rhetorical formalism; in another, the form of a mystical exaltation. For the purpose of description—not classification—it will be convenient to observe still a third way in which a loose period may escape from the formal commitments of elaborate syntax. It is illustrated in a passage in Montaigne's essay "Des Livres" (II, 10), praising the simple and uncritical kind of history that he likes so much. In the course of the period he mentions *le bon Froissard* as an example, and proceeds so far (six lines of print) in a description of his method that he cannot get back to his general idea by means of his original syntactic form, or at least cannot do so without very artificial devices. He completes the sentence where it is; but completes his idea in a pair of curt (*coupés*) sentences separated by a colon from the preceding: "C'est la matière de l'histoire nue et informe; chascun en peult faire son proufit autant qu'il a d'entendement." This is a method often used by anti-Ciceronians to extricate themselves from the coils of a situation in which they have become involved by following the "natural" order. A better example of it is to be seen in a pas-

sage from Pascal's essay on "Imagination," from which another passage has already been cited.

Le plus grand philosophe du monde, sur une planche plus large qu'il ne faut, s'il y a au-dessous un précipice, quoique sa raison le convainque de sa sûreté, son imagination prévaudra. Plusieurs n'en sauroient soutenir la pensée sans pâlir et suer.—*Pensées*, "L'Imagination."

Nothing could better illustrate the "order of nature"; writing, that is, in the exact order in which the matter presents itself. It begins by naming the subject, *le plus grand philosophe*, without foreseeing the syntax by which it is to continue. Then it throws in the elements of the situation, using any syntax that suggests itself at the moment, proceeding with perfect dramatic sequence, but wholly without logical sequence, until at last the sentence has lost touch with its stated subject. Accordingly, this subject is merely left hanging, and a new one, *son imagination*, takes its place. It is a violent, or rather a nonchalant, *anacoluthon*. The sentence has then, after a fashion, completed itself. But there is an uneasy feeling in the mind. After all, *le plus grand philosophe* has done nothing; both form and idea are incomplete. Pascal adds another member (for, whatever the punctuation, the *plusieurs* sentence is a member of the period), which completely meets the situation, though a grammatical purist may well object that the antecedent of *plusieurs* was in the singular number.

Pascal is usually spoken of as a "classical" writer; but the term means nothing as applied to him except that he is a writer of tried artistic soundness. He is, in fact, as modernistic, as bold a breaker of the rules and forms of rhetoric, as his master Montaigne, though he is also a much more careful artist. *La vraie éloquence*, he said, *se moque de l'éloquence*.

5

Two kinds of style have been analyzed in the preceding pages: the concise, serried, abrupt *stile coupé*, and the informal, meditative, and "natural" loose style. It is necessary to repeat—

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once more—that in the best writers these two styles do not appear separately in passages of any length, and that in most of them they intermingle in relations far too complex for description. They represent two sides of the seventeenth-century mind: its sententiousness, its penetrating wit, its Stoic intensity, on the one hand, and its dislike of formalism, its roving and self-exploring curiosity, in brief, its skeptical tendency, on the other. And these two habits of mind are generally not separated one from the other; nor are they even always exactly distinguishable. Indeed, as they begin to separate or to be opposed to each other in the second half of the century we are aware of the approach of a new age and a new spirit. The seventeenth century, as we are here considering it, is equally and at once Stoic and Libertine; and the prose that is most characteristic of it expresses these two sides of its mind in easy and natural relations one with the other.

IV. THE PUNCTUATION OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PERIOD

[The “long sentence” of the anti-Ciceronian age has received a remarkable amount of attention ever since it began to be corrected and go out of use; and there have been two conflicting views concerning it.] The older doctrine—not yet quite extinct—was that the long sentences of Montaigne, Bacon, Browne, and Taylor were sentences of the same kind as those of Cicero and his sixteenth-century imitators; only they were badly and crudely made, monstrosities due to some wave of ignorance that submerged the syntactic area of the seventeenth-century mind. Their true character, it was thought, would be shown by substituting commas for their semicolons and colons; for then we should see that they are quaint failures in the attempt to achieve sentence-unity.

The other view is the opposite of this, namely, that we should put periods in the place of many of its semicolons and colons. We should then see that what look like long sentences

are really brief and aphoristic ones. The contemporary punctuation of our authors is again to be corrected, but now in a different sense. This is the view urged by Faguet in writing of Montaigne, and by Sir Edmund Gosse concerning the prose of Browne and Taylor.

This later view is useful in correcting some of the errors of the earlier one. But, in fact, one of them is just as false as the other; and both of them illustrate the difficulties experienced by minds trained solely in the logical and grammatical aspects of language in interpreting the forms of style that prevailed before the eighteenth century. In order to understand the punctuation of the seventeenth century we have to consider the relation between the grammatical term *sentence* and the rhetorical term *period*.

The things named by these terms are identical. *Period* names the rhetorical, or oral, aspect of the same thing that is called in grammar a *sentence*; and in theory the same act of composition that produces a perfectly logical grammatical unit would produce at the same time a perfectly rhythmical pattern of sound. But, in fact, no utterance ever fulfils both of these functions perfectly, and either one or the other of them is always foremost in a writer's mind. One or the other is foremost also in every theory of literary education; and the historian may sometimes distinguish literary periods by the relative emphasis they put upon grammatical and rhetorical considerations. In general we may say, though there may be exceptions, that before the eighteenth century rhetoric occupied much more attention than grammar in the minds of teachers and their pupils. It was so, for instance, in the Middle Ages, as is clear from their manuals of study and the curricula of their schools. It was still true in the sixteenth century; and the most striking characteristic of the literary prose of that century, both in Latin and in the vernacular tongues, was its devotion to the conventional and formal patterns of school-rhetoric.

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The laws of grammatical form, it is true, were not at all disturbed or strained at this time by the predominance of rhetorical motives. There was no difficulty whatever in saying what these rhetoricians had to say in perfect accordance with logical syntax because they had, in fact, so little to say that only the most elementary syntax was necessary for its purposes. Furthermore, the rhetorical forms they liked were so symmetrical, so obvious, that they almost imposed a regular syntax by their own form.

But a new situation arose when the leaders of seventeenth-century rationalism—Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon—became the teachers of style. The ambition of these writers was to conduct an experimental investigation of the moral realities of their time, and to achieve a style appropriate to the expression of their discoveries and of the mental effort by which they were conducted. The content of style became, as it were, suddenly greater and more difficult; and the stylistic formalities of the preceding age were unable to bear the burden. An immense rhetorical complexity and license took the place of the simplicity and purism of the sixteenth century; and, since the age had not yet learned to think much about grammatical propriety, the rules of syntax were made to bear the expenses of the new freedom. In the examples of seventeenth-century prose that have been discussed in the preceding pages some of the results are apparent. The syntactic connections of a sentence become loose and casual; great strains are imposed upon tenuous, frail links; parentheses are abused; digression becomes licentious; *anacoluthon* is frequent and passes unnoticed; even the limits of sentences are not clearly marked, and it is sometimes difficult to say where one begins and another ends.

Evidently the process of disintegration could not go on forever. A stylistic reform was inevitable, and it must take the direction of a new formalism or "correctness." The direction that it actually took was determined by the Cartesian phi-

losophy, or at least by the same time-spirit in which the Cartesian philosophy had its origin. The intellect, that is to say, became the arbiter of form, the dictator of artistic practice as of philosophical inquiry. The sources of error, in the view of the Cartesians, are imagination and dependence upon sense-impressions. Its correctives are found in what they call "reason" (which here means 'intellect'), and an exact distinction of categories.

To this mode of thought we are to trace almost all the features of modern literary education and criticism, or at least of what we should have called modern a generation ago: the study of the precise meaning of words; the reference to dictionaries as literary authorities; the study of the sentence as a logical unit alone; the careful circumscription of its limits and the gradual reduction of its length; the disappearance of semicolons and colons; the attempt to reduce grammar to an exact science; the idea that forms of speech are always either correct or incorrect; the complete subjection of the laws of motion and expression in style to the laws of logic and standardization—in short, the triumph, during two centuries, of grammatical over rhetorical ideas.

This is not the place to consider what we have gained or lost by this literary philosophy, or whether the precision we have aimed at has compensated us for the powers of expression and the flexibility of motion that we have lost; we have only to say that we must not apply the ideas we have learned from it to the explanation of seventeenth-century style. In brief, we must not measure the customs of the age of semicolons and colons by the customs of the age of commas and periods. The only possible punctuation of seventeenth-century prose is that which it used itself. We might sometimes reveal its grammar more clearly by repunctuating it with commas or periods, but we should certainly destroy its rhetoric.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE BEGIN- NINGS OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY

©

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Alexander Hamilton, F.R.S. (1762–1824), who must on no account be confused with his great American contemporary and namesake, had some reputation among his English fellow-countrymen as a pioneer in the study of Oriental languages, and in this capacity he has a modest half-column allotted to him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. As far as we are aware, he has received no credit as one of the early students, who, before the time of Rask, Bopp, and Grimm, recognized the linguistic connections of some Indo-European languages.

These forerunners were, of course, a numerous band.¹ An early pioneer was Filippo Sassetti, who was in India from 1581 to 1588. He knew that Sanscrit had many words in common with Italian.² Benjamin Schultze, among others, also deserves honorable mention;³ yet a great step forward was not taken until 1768, when the Jesuit Father Cœurdoux sent an essay to the Academy at Paris in which the relationship of Sanscrit and Latin was affirmed, and supported by numerous examples (including conjugations of Sansc. *asmi*: Lat. *sum*, and Sansc. *syām*: Lat. *sim*). The paper was duly read at the Academy; nobody, however, took the trouble to arrange for publication, and when,

¹ Cf. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, and Benfey, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft* (München, 1869).

² *Lettere edite e inedite di Filippo Sassetti, raccolte e annotate da Ettore Marcucci* (Firenze, 1855), p. 415: *et ha la lingua d'oggi molte cose comuni con quella, nella quale sono molti de' nostri nomi e particolarmente de numeri il 6, 7, 8 e 9, 'Dio,' 'serpe' et altri assai.*

³ Benfey, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

many years afterward, this early contribution did appear, English and German scholars had already independently discovered all that Cœurdoux knew.¹

In England, Sir William Jones was the first to busy himself with comparative Indo-European philology, and his work and influence are too well known to be discussed here. A less well-known worker in the field is Nathaniel Halhed, who was astonished at the number of similar words in Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, Latin, and Greek.² His inclusion of Arabic does not mean that he regarded Arabic as one of the group, for later he distinctly states that the connection between Arabic and Persian is purely one of borrowing.³

In Rome, there had appeared in 1790 a *Grammatica Samscritica* written by the Carmelite, Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomæo (Johann Philip Wesdin).⁴ The beginning of a real interest in Eastern languages, however, was marked by the publication, in 1808, of Friedrich Schlegel's *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier*. The instantaneous and lasting effect of this work is well known.

Schlegel lost no time in coming to the point. The first paragraph of the first chapter begins with the statement that the Sanscrit, Persian, Latin, Greek, and Germanic languages all be-

¹ Michel Bréal, *Introd.* (pp. xvi ff.), to his French translation of Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, Vol. 1.

² N. B. Halhed, *A Grammar of the Bengal Language* (1778), p. iii.

³ Halhed, *op. cit.*, p. xix: "For if the Arabic Language (as Mr. Jones has so excellently observed) be so intimately blended with the Persian as to render it impossible for the one to be accurately understood without the other; with still more propriety may we urge the impossibility of learning the Bengal dialect without a general and comprehensive idea of the Shanscrit; as the union of these two languages is more close and more general; and as they bear an original relation and consanguinity to each other which cannot even be surmised with respect to the Arabic and Persian."

⁴ Paulinus humorously complains that, with cunning worthy of admiration, the devil had egged on the Brahmin philosophers to invent such a rich and complicated language that their secrets might be hidden, not only from the people, but from the initiated themselves.

long to the same family. Here is the starting-point of the comparative philology of the nineteenth century, and, curiously enough, the paragraph winds up with the statement: "Bei der Vergleichung ergibt sich ferner, dass die indische Sprache die ältere sei, die andern aber jünger und aus jener abgeleitet." Thus Schlegel introduced an erroneous conception that influenced IE comparative philology during a great part of the century.

The second chapter of Schlegel deals with root-relationship; the third with grammatical structure. The other three chapters of the first book discuss general questions of language in an enthusiastic yet hazardous fashion. Suffice it to say that the German Romantic finds *ranzig* in Japanese, *legen* in the Tagala language of the Philippines, and a few German words, which are not given, in Peruvian. Though on the right road, he has not entirely outgrown the fantastic etymologies of his predecessors. Here we are concerned only with the second and third chapters.

In the examples Schlegel gives of related words, he largely chooses words that could not have been affected by the first sound-shift. The majority of examples given is substantially correct. He is not aware that dissimilarity is often a safer guide than similarity.¹ In his third chapter Schlegel asserts that structure is as important as, or perhaps even more important than,

¹ "Wir erlauben uns dabei keine Art von Veränderungs- oder Versetzungsregel der Buchstaben, sondern fordern völlige Gleichheit des Worts zum Beweise der Abstammung. Freilich wenn sich die Mittelglieder historisch nachweisen lassen, so mag *giorno* von *dies* abgeleitet werden, und wenn statt des lateinischen *f* im Spanischen so oft *h* eintritt, das lateinische *p* in der deutschen Form desselben Worts sehr häufig *f* wird, und *c* nicht selten *h*, so gründet diess allerdings eine Analogie auch für andre nicht ganz so evidente Fälle. Nur muss man, wie gesagt, die Mittelglieder oder die allgemeine Analogie historisch nachweisen können; nach Grundsätzen erdichtet darf nichts werden, und die Übereinstimmung muss schon sehr gross und einleuchtend sein, um auch nur geringe Formverschiedenheiten gestatten zu dürfen" (Schlegel, *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* [1808], pp. 6 f.).

mere roots.¹ He compares the endings of conjugations (especially of the μ verbs), participle construction, the use of auxiliary verbs, alteration of vowel for subjunctive, Latin supine to Sanscrit and German infinitive, and comes to the conclusion that an essential similarity of these languages lies in inflection and modification of the root to express different relationships.²

The intrinsic value of Schlegel's spirited essay does not concern us here as much as the source of his information and the influences that taught him to think of language in the way he did.

In his Preface³ he refers to Alexander Hamilton, a former official of the East India Company and a member of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. On his return to England, Hamilton had continued his Sanscrit studies, first at the British Museum and after the Peace of Amiens at the Paris Library. When the war was renewed, Hamilton was retained as a hostage. Through the friendship of Langlès, the Paris librarian, permission was obtained for Hamilton to work at the Library. Here he drew up a catalogue of the Sanscrit MSS contained in the Paris Library,⁴ and taught Schlegel and Fauriel. Released in 1807, he became

¹ "Jener entscheidende Punkt aber, der hier alles aufhellen wird, ist die innre Structur der Sprachen oder die vergleichende Grammatik, welche uns ganz neue Aufschlüsse über die Genealogie der Sprachen auf ähnliche Weise geben wird, wie die vergleichende Anatomie über die höhere Naturgeschichte Licht verbreitet hat" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

² "Das Wesentliche ist die Gleichheit des Principis, alle Verhältnisse und Nebenbestimmungen der Bedeutung nicht durch angehängte Partikeln oder Hülfsverba, sondern durch Flexion d.h. durch innre Modification der Wurzel zu erkennen zu geben" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

³ "Die Kenntniss, die es mir davon [the Sanscrit and Persian languages] zu erwerben gelang, verdanke ich vorzüglich der Freundschaft des Herrn Alexander Hamilton (Mitglied der Calcuttatischen Gesellschaft, und jetzt Professor der persischen und indischen Sprache in England) der mir seinen mündlichen Unterricht vom Frühjahr 1803-1804 schenkte" (*ibid.*, Preface, p. iv).

⁴ *Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale avec des notices, etc.* (Paris, 1807).

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an F.R.S. in 1808, and was appointed professor of Eastern languages at Haileybury. He died in 1824.¹

In the January number, 1809, of the *Edinburgh Review*,² there is an unsigned review of *A Grammar of the Sanskrita Language*, by Charles Wilkins. The writer of this review shows what is, for the period, an astonishing recognition of the relationship between German, Latin, Persian, and Sanscrit. Various indications in this review led us to believe that its author could only be Alexander Hamilton, and on writing to the present editor of the *Edinburgh Review* we received the answer, through Messrs. Longmans, that the article was written by Alexander Hamilton. After discussing points that concern the various Indian dialects, he asserts, in the words of Sir William Jones, the relationship of Sanscrit, Persian, Latin, Greek, and Gothic, to which is added the language of "the old Egyptians or Ethiops." Being a wise man, Hamilton starts by stating that his knowledge is unequal to the task of proving this relationship,³ after which modest disclaimer he proceeds to analyze, first, words, and second, structure. Unless space were limited, he could extend the number of words to "ten times their present amount," though he adds the warning that the number of words does not necessarily prove anything.⁴ It is the type of word, not

¹ See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under "Hamilton." ² Pp. 366 ff.

³ "To the science of philology he has never devoted a moment; of Greek, his knowledge is slender; and of Hebrew and Ethiopic, he is equally and totally ignorant. His sole qualifications for the task he has undertaken are a tolerable knowledge of Sanscrit, Arabic, Latin, German, and the modern language of Persia. It would have been easy, by the help of lexicons, to have palliated, and perhaps to have concealed this deficiency; but, unambitious of the reputation of a linguist, though desirous of demonstrating a proposition no less true than wonderful, he prefers candidly stating the extent of his qualifications" (*Edinb. Rev.*, Jan., 1809, p. 371).

⁴ "Thus, the Greeks have bequeathed to the rest of Europe their sciences and the names of them. . . . To the American Indians, we are indebted for the most useless and the most useful of plants, together with their names, 'tobacco and potatoes.' In the history of arts, sciences, or commerce, attention to these names may have its utility; in the history of nations they authorize no deduction whatever" (*ibid.*, p. 372).

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the number, which he regards as important.¹ Hamilton next gives examples of words with the same or similar meanings in Sanscrit, Latin, Persian, and German. His catalogue contains 192 examples, though he by no means gives all four languages for each example. In his list there are 190 Sanscrit words, 171 Latin, 109 Persian, and 80 German. A word that occurs in all four languages will appear in the following analysis in all eleven classes; a word that occurs in Sanscrit, Latin, and German, will appear under 3, 6, 8, 10. "Right" means that the words are etymologically connected, though not necessarily the same in all particulars. "Disputed" means that the etymology is doubtful or unknown.

	Examples	Right	Disputed
1. S.L.P.G.	53	34	3
2. S.L.P.	87	65	4
3. S.L.G.	73	50	3
4. S.P.G.	61	40	3
5. L.P.G.	53	35	3
6. S.L.	169	126	11
7. S.P.	107	87	5
8. S.G.	80	56	3
9. L.P.	88	67	4
10. L.G.	73	54	3
11. P.G.	61	41	3

The exactitude of this list, when looked at in this manner, seems a little startling. If one deducts the doubtful cases, the percentages vary between 70 and 80, which is a respectable achievement, especially as Hamilton is merely giving a sample, either as the words occurred to him or as they are suggested by words in *Farhang Jehanghiri*, the antiquated Persian dictionary that he employed. He used no other dictionary. Had he found time to work methodically through a German and a Latin diction-

¹ "On the other hand, there are things which must have been named in the very infancy of society, and before the first dawn of civilization. Where these names correspond, therefore, in different countries, we may confidently infer that the one has been peopled from the same stock with the other" (*ibid.*).

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ary, the results might have encouraged him to pursue such an interesting study in spite of his contention that he is "no philologist." That he did not use a German dictionary is further made probable by the fact that of 80 German words, 17 are misspelled. But some of the erratic spellings may be due to the printers, who do not object to placing a most un-Teutonic-looking Persian word in the German list. The printing of the Sanscrit and Persian words is also lamentable.¹ No vowel-lengths are given, *a* and *u* seem much the same to the printer, and consonants interchange freely, so that perhaps the misprints hide some examples that are right.² The system that Hamilton adopted in the arrangement of his list is not discernible. The method, according to his own statement, was to look through the Persian dictionary and put down the words as they occurred. That, however, is not the present order. The list follows neither the Aryan nor the European arrangement of the letters; verbs and numerals have been grouped together, and *deva*, *deus*, *khoda*, *gott*, is the first example. Of family relationships there are: "father," "mother"; "brother," "sister"; "son" (*putra*, *puer*, *pur*), "daughter"; "father-in-law," "mother-in-law"; the numerals given are 1-13, etc., 20, 30, 100, 1,000; *eilf* and *zwaelf* (*sic*!) are included with the others, but *hundert* is omitted in the German; so that although Hamilton must have known the word, he apparently did not realize the connection. On the other hand, he (no doubt intentionally) omits *mille*, yet includes *tausend*, which seems to him something like the Persian *hazar*. But even if we subtract the names of relationships and the numerals, many remarkable instances are left; moreover, the words are not given merely because the author happens to be familiar

¹ Our thanks and acknowledgments are due to Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, of the Oriental Department of the British Museum, for help with some of the Sanscrit and Persian words.

² Cf. on p. 377 the equation: Sansc. *loch* (root) 'shine': Lat. *lux*: Pers. *roshan*: Ger. *licht*, where very probably *loch* obscures the root of *ruci-h*, 'light,' and the adj. *rōkā-h*, 'bright.' What Hamilton probably wished to print was *roch*.

with them. If Hamilton thought the word was not connected he left it out. For example, *zahn* is missing next to *dens*, and, as we have said, *hundert* next to *centum*. He must have known such simple words as *Schaf*, *gross*, and *Bär*, yet they are not mentioned together with *ovis*, *magnus*, and *ursus*. Hamilton knew that the words were, as he would have put it, "totally dissimilar." Consequently, he must have had some principle which led him to assert (quite correctly) the relationship of words that appear so unlike as *flos* and *blume*; *plenus* and *volle* (*sic!*); *novisse* and *kennen*; *cor* and *herz*; *bos* and *kuh*.

Hamilton does not demand that consonants and vowels should be alike in words that he declares to be etymologically connected. In his discussion of Indian dialects, which preceeds his IE inquiries, he states this quite clearly,¹ and in the realm of IE philology he has noted similar happenings.²

The second point he discusses is the structure. He compares (1) Sansc. *divyah*, *ā*, *am:divinus*, *a*, *um*; (2) the endings of the declensions; (3) signs of comparison in Sanscrit, Latin, Persian, and German; (4) Sanscrit, Persian, and German infinitive to Latin supine; (5) present indicative of "to be" in Sanscrit, Persian, and Latin, also a more regular example, given in Sanscrit and Latin (*jivami:vivo*); and (6) the different roots of the verb "to be." More problematic, though partly in good company, is his identification of the *m* in the first person singular, as "me," the *t* of the third person with a form meaning 'he'

¹ "We have no hesitation in asserting that in all of these [i.e., dialects] which we have had an opportunity of investigating, three fourths of the words are pure Sanscrit; and that, of the rest, most are changed or corrupted by a regular system of permutation, by substituting particular consonants in the room of others. Thus, in the Bengal dialect, the Sanscrit *v* uniformly passes into *b*; and *d* and *m* very frequently into *l*" (p. 368).

² "Thus, the word *chatur*, 'four,' becomes, in Latin, *quatuor*; the conjunction *cha* 'and,' becomes the Latin *que*, and, like it, is never used but at the end of a word. In like manner, the character used for *b* aspirated, or *bh*, is usually changed to *f*. . . . (p. 373). . . . The Sanscrit *sw* are, in Persic, always changed to *khu*" (p. 374, n.). The question is not whether these facts are completely accurate. The passage shows that Hamilton realized the systematic way in which sound-changes work.

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or 'it,' the first person plural ending as "we," and so on.¹ Attention is further drawn to the reduplication of Latin and Sanscrit verbal roots and the identity of ending in present and past participles. Here Hamilton unfortunately stops, observing with what must seem to us regrettable irony: "We have now said enough, we trust (our readers may possibly think too much), to show the analogy between the languages of the East and those of the West. . . . It would be still more difficult to render a dissertation on grammar interesting to the general reader."

Both Schlegel and Hamilton deal first with words and then with structure. Of the Latin-Sanscrit comparisons in Schlegel, 46 in number, 26, apart from family relationship and numbers, appear also in Hamilton's review. Both have the wrong equations: Sansc. *ganus*:Lat. *cantus*; Sansc. *chestote*:Lat. *quaesitus* (where Hamilton adds *chercher* as possibly showing a more original form); Sansc. *lokoh*:Lat. *locus*. Both deal largely with the same facts in their analysis of structure.

On the face of it, it would seem as if the Professor had not seen the published work of the Romantic. Schlegel's work appeared in 1808, and even if he had wished to send his old teacher a copy, Heidelberg was a considerable distance from England while Napoleon's armies roamed through Central Europe, and Schlegel's book could hardly have arrived in time to be used for Hamilton's review, which must have been written toward the end of 1808.² Moreover, Hamilton, who gives due praise to Sir William Jones, Halhed, and Colebrooke, would undoubtedly have mentioned Schlegel's work had he been aware that his pupil had made such good use of the instruction given at Paris. The question of influence, then, must be referred back

¹ Hamilton's remarks on the structure of the Latin verb show the influence of Horne Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, Part I (1786), Part II (1805). Horne Tooke was one of the most erudite and amusing linguists of the time, who did much to discredit traditional grammatical beliefs and distinctions.

² The appearance of Wilkins' grammar is announced in the October number (1808).

to Paris, and the time when Schlegel was receiving instruction from the Englishman.¹ Schlegel first speaks of the connections of other languages with Sanscrit rather vaguely, in a letter written to Tieck, and this letter is written at a time when he is in constant intercourse with Hamilton.² It is extremely unlikely that Schlegel first suggested the linguistic relationships to Hamilton, but there is every reason for believing that Hamilton, familiar as he was with the work of Sir William Jones and the other English scholars, pointed out the relationship to Schlegel, and, naturally and inevitably, supplied the necessary examples to justify his contention. Had it not been for Hamilton's presence in Paris, Schlegel's progress in Eastern languages and his realization of their intimate connection with the Western group would have been much more difficult, perhaps impossible; because, at least as far as Sanscrit was concerned, there was nothing but the texts themselves, with no possible key to them apart from the totally inadequate attempt of Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomæo. Hamilton may therefore claim his modest and legitimate share among the originators of the modern science of comparative philology.

¹ According to H. von Chezy (*Unvergessenes*, I, 270), Schlegel had three hours daily with Hamilton.

² "Anfangs hat mich die Kunst und die persische Sprache am meisten beschaeftigt. Allein jetzt ist alles dies vom Sanscrit verdraengt. Hier ist eigentlich die Quelle aller Sprachen, aller Gedanken und Gedichte des menschlichen Geistes" (*Briefe an L. Tieck* [Breslau, 1863], III, 329).

PROGRESS IN THE TEACHING OF EARLY ENGLISH

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The gradually changing conditions and purposes of higher education in the United States have influenced to such a degree the study and teaching of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English as to seem to justify an attempt at an appraisal of progress made during the past generation or two in the teaching of Early English, and perhaps, to some extent, to warrant suggestions for further changes in the plan and method of the teaching. With the publication in 1869 of his *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, Professor Francis A. March emphasized so much the comparative study of Anglo-Saxon that our teaching and textbook-making in the field of Early English have been strongly colored by the comparative method ever since. It has been quite generally assumed, I believe, that Anglo-Saxon should be studied, not merely to open up the treasures of Early English literature and to throw more light on the history of the English language, but also as a preliminary to or a part of a broader study of comparative philology. March said in the Preface of his *Grammar*:

The hope has, however, been cherished that the methods of Comparative Grammar might be exemplified more fully than they have yet been for our students, in connection with the early forms of our mother tongue, and that in this way the Anglo-Saxon might be associated with the modern Science of Language, and share its honors.

And others have followed in March's steps, indicating either by open declaration or else by the plan and method of their books that they were striving to encourage this comparative

study. Even when the grammarian has been primarily concerned with setting forth the earlier history of our language, so much time has been devoted to reconstructing hypothetical forms of prehistorical English that a fundamental knowledge of comparative Germanics has been almost imperative.

The result of this method of approaching the study of Early English has been that a certain few who have had the time and the inclination for the pursuit of the many tantalizing little lanes and alleys mapped out by such comparative methods have found their study of Anglo-Saxon the introduction to a most delightful and never ending course of comparative philology. But to the majority of those who take the courses in Early English, now frequently required for a degree in English, the study of Anglo-Saxon, more especially, has been a rather uninteresting attempt to acquire information, much of which they have never had any use for again. The subject is taught, I suppose, more widely than ever before and still with dissatisfaction upon the part of both teachers and students, in many instances.

There are several reasons for this dissatisfaction. In the first place, the increasing number of definite requirements and recommended courses has exerted a pressure upon the average student that has made him impatient of courses that ramble or labor over materials not pertinent to his own interests. In the second place, the average student of today who enrolls for a course in Anglo-Saxon has, if I am not greatly mistaken, far less linguistic background than was true a generation ago. Probably this is due to a variety of reasons. For many students this course is required just because they do need linguistic training; fewer students have a grounding in the classics than was formerly the case, particularly of those who specialize in English; since the war the percentage of those acquainted with German is very much smaller. And in the third place, and most important of all, the attitude of philologists toward language

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in general has changed so remarkably that it cannot fail to have had its influence upon the study of Anglo-Saxon. Not so long ago philology conceived of language as a living organism, as an end rather than a means, and interesting in itself as an object of study. Today it is being taught as a means to an end, as the vehicle for the conveying of human thought, and the student of philology studies the language in order to get a better knowledge of the individual or the society behind it. If anyone doubts this, let him but compare the doctoral dissertations in the field of philology of today with those of yesterday. Today it is the philosophy, the characterizations, the popular customs, the various fields of learning, or the author's own education, that are sought in increasingly numerous studies; but yesterday we were examining most minutely the vowels and consonants, the verbs, etc. Someone might argue that since the "program-mongers," as Henry Sweet termed them long ago,¹ have swarmed through the field of Early English and set up a sheaf marked *die Sprache* for every author or literary product, it has been necessary for the student of this later time to move on to fresher fields. But I do not believe this is altogether the reason why we prefer a different type of study today. Rather it is the growing interest in the human life and thought behind the language that appeals to the present-day philologist.

In the light of these facts, what, then, should be the chief purposes of our present-day teaching of Early English? First of all, I should say, the student should be enabled to read the literature of early England in the original form. Second, as a result of such reading he should obtain a first-hand acquaintance with the culture of the period. Perhaps one might gain this to a large extent from translations into Modern English. But much of the writing of the earlier period has not yet been translated, and even so, the only scholarly method of examining the culture set forth in the early literature is to go straight to the

¹ *Pub. of the Early English Text Soc. (orig. ser.), LXXXIII (1885), v.*

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originals. For often in the study of a single word or phrase in the light of contemporary literature one gains more than from a whole volume of critical commentary. Third, a study of Early English should throw light upon problems and peculiarities of our Modern English speech. And finally, a definite and detailed knowledge of Anglo-Saxon and of Middle English should always provide foundation stones for the rearing of a structure either of comparative or of historical philology. Accurate knowledge of a case-ending or of a verb-form is always useful.

Of course different teachers of Early English will differ to some extent as to their aims and methods, according as they are given much or little time for the courses involved. In my own experience it has been very difficult in one short term to lay an adequate foundation for the reading of Anglo-Saxon literature. Consequently, I should prefer a textbook in which the descriptive study of the period excludes almost altogether comparative and historical study. The teacher can always make sufficient comparisons to interest his class and tantalize some into going farther into comparative study. Moreover, he can hardly avoid developing the later history of the English language through a comparison of the Anglo-Saxon forms with which he is working and the Modern English which presumably his class all know and use.¹

On the other hand, it is poor pedagogy to assume a knowledge on the part of the student that he does not possess. It is a very beautiful theory, that which assumes that the student will be forced to hunt up the prerequisite knowledge, or that his natural curiosity will lead him to search for it. But in the busy life of the average student it does not work out in that way. Rather, he grows discouraged in the face of this strange and difficult matter, and the instructor is likely to expend much

¹ I am afraid very few college students do have an intelligent understanding of Modern English such as any philological course might well demand as a prerequisite. Every college and university should offer a course in Modern English.

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time endeavoring to explain and clear away the obstacle. Why should the student who is preparing to read selections from Middle English literature wade through fifty-three pages of laborious explanation of the sources of the ME vowels and consonants when he probably knows nothing about OE, OM, ON, or OFr?¹ And how helpful to the student just beginning the reading of Chaucer in the ME is a very elaborate setting-forth of the origin of that troublesome final *e* in OFr, ON, OE weak endings of adjectives, broken-down datives, etc.? It is the injection into the discussion of so much that is not immediately pertinent to the work in hand that has encumbered the teaching of both Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, yea, and even of Modern English grammar. Because we might never catch him again off his guard, we have felt it necessary to cram the beginner in Early English with all the comparative and historical philology that we could squeeze in, even though it did discourage him from further philological studies.

It is encouraging to note in the more recent textbooks dealing with Early English a tendency to drop the unessentials and to simplify as far as possible the presentation of the subject. That early *æ*, for example, which one so rarely meets with in the study of Anglo-Saxon, is ignored in the beginning course in Anglo-Saxon, and the discussion of the special sound-changes that presumably took place in a dim and prehistorical stage of the language is being reduced so as to comprise only the facts or conclusions that are necessary to an understanding or to an inflection of the Anglo-Saxon as the student actually meets it in his texts. Of course the length of the period involved in the study of either Anglo-Saxon or Middle English necessitates a study of special sound-changes which makes it impossible to treat the subject as simply as one can Modern German or Modern English grammar. It is not possible to eliminate from the study of Anglo-Saxon the ambiguity that results from the

¹ How many are even familiar with these abbreviations?

gradual development of the palatals *c* and *g*. It is necessary to recognize certain variant inflectional endings resulting from the breaking-down of the vowels or the influence of analogy in inflection. But it is possible to make a grammatical introduction that shall present the language of the literature in the book as it actually is, ignoring for the time being what it may have been earlier and what it became later.

It is this conception of the purpose of an elementary study of Anglo-Saxon that has led to the omission of the instrumental case in presenting the declension of the noun. Just why the imaginary line between dative and instrumental has been so carefully maintained for a long time in elementary textbooks, one cannot readily explain. Perhaps it is largely because the average textbook has been built upon those that have preceded it and continues to be so built. But perhaps it is also because the Anglo-Saxon scholar has been so fearful of losing sight of any earlier aspect of English linguistic history, or of missing any chance to display his erudition by dragging in other languages. So the noun declensions have been labeled the *a*, the *ō*, the *i*, the *u* declensions, etc., although no *ō* appears in the *ō*-declension, and no *i* in the *i*-declension. If the inquiring student seeks a reason for this nomenclature, it is necessary to explain to him that these classes correspond to those of the Latin, and if he knows little or no Latin, as unfortunately the case is likely to be, then he must be taught enough Latin to enable him to justify the comparison. Why should not the Anglo-Saxon noun-classes be labeled according to the different ways of forming the nominative plural, as, for example, masculines in *-as*, feminines in *-a*, etc., rather than according to endings long lost from sight?

It is interesting to see that the newer textbooks are presenting the so-called "reduplicating-ablaut class" of strong verbs as a seventh strong-verb class, discarding a terminology that for long has puzzled the student and invariably compelled an explanation on the instructor's part of something that has

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had practically no bearing on the work of the student. Perhaps it is just as well, also, that a slight change has been made in the terminology of the verb, and the more usual "subjunctive" substituted for the word "optative" employed by a number of Anglo-Saxon scholars. There is still need of a more logical use of the terms "breaking" and "mutation" ("umlaut"). It would be better if the phonological changes discussed under the two heads were to be rearranged on the basis of effect rather than cause. If that were done, then the so-called "*u/o*-umlaut" would be classed as a breaking, since the result of the process is a diphthong similar to those caused by preceding palatal or following guttural consonants. Then "mutation" ("umlaut") would mean a vowel compromise rather than a diphthongization.

And, finally, while I am arguing for a franker recognition of things as they are in Early English, rather than of things as they may have been or as they might or should be, it seems necessary to touch again upon the use of the terms "Old English" and "Anglo-Saxon." For many years I have argued for the term "Old English" on the usual grounds that it is uniform with "Middle English" and "Modern English," that it is in itself more comprehensive than "Anglo-Saxon," inasmuch as the Angles and Saxons were only two out of the three German tribes that settled in England, and, finally, that the term "Anglo-Saxon" was introduced relatively late in the history of the study of the early period of the language. But in spite of my feeling that "Old English" is the more logical term, I have gradually swung back to the use of "Anglo-Saxon."

To meet the first argument first, it must be admitted that while the learned student of the history of the English language does conceive of the development of the English language as a gradual and fairly consistent one, to the average student of English the field of Anglo-Saxon is a new and strange land. By the time he has become sufficiently familiar with it to ap-

preciate the transitions from the earliest to the later forms of the language, he is beyond need of the slight assistance that a uniform terminology might render him. I do not see, moreover, how we can ever hope to present to the more superficial student of the history of English the oldest dialects of English as a consistent whole. It will always be necessary, no doubt, to base the initial study of the language of this earliest period upon the West Saxon literature, just as we shall always find it most expedient to start the study of Middle English with the East Midland dialect of Chaucer's London. And in reply to the third argument, it seems sufficient to emphasize what every thorough student of language must recognize, namely, that the chief justification for the use of any word or phrase must always be generality of usage. That word or idiom that most clearly expresses an idea to the great majority of users of a language must be accepted for practical purposes, no matter how much individuals here and there may object to it. For language is a means to an end, and not an end. During the course of my extensive bibliographical researches for a period of ten or fifteen years it has become clear that the only word that generally means "Old English" is the word "Anglo-Saxon." If one steps into a bookshop, for instance, where used books are sold, and asks for an Old English dictionary, he is just as likely to receive an old copy of Webster's *Dictionary* as one of Bosworth or Sweet, whereas if he asks for an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, there will be no misunderstanding. Unfortunately, as Kemp Malone has shown in several articles published recently in *American Speech*,¹ there is at the present time a tendency to use the term "Anglo-Saxon" as covering the modern English-speaking peoples everywhere. With the coming of the United States and the so-called British colonial countries into world prominence, a pressing need is being felt for an even more widely comprehensive term than "English." And the occasional use of "Anglo-

¹ "American and Anglo-Saxon," *American Speech*, I, 371-377; also II, 147, 243, 367.

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Saxon" to meet this need complicates our own problem, and makes one slightly fearful that ultimately neither "Old English" nor "Anglo-Saxon" may be entirely satisfactory. But at the present time "Anglo-Saxon" is still a technical term rarely misunderstood.

And this is true in spite of the fact that for some sixty years now a small body of influential students of Early English has waged continuous warfare against the use of the term "Anglo-Saxon." A somewhat hasty tabulation of the two terms as they appear in the entries of the first section ("General Studies") of the chapter devoted to Anglo-Saxon or Old English in my *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language*¹ shows the relative proportion of users of the two terms as follows:

1800-1878: Anglo-Saxon	35	Old English	0
1879-1899: Anglo-Saxon	34	Old English	21
1900-1922: Anglo-Saxon	26	Old English	45

It should be remarked that in the earlier stages of the use of the term "Old English," it was commonly applied to the literature of the early Middle English period. Morris' *Old English Miscellany* of 1872 is a good example. Indeed, the collections of *Old English Plays* published by Dodsley, and also by Bullen, deal with early Modern English literature, for the most part. Also it should be noted that the very latest reader to appear, namely, that of Professor M. H. Turk (1927), is entitled *An Anglo-Saxon Reader*.

An examination of the announcements of courses of instruction issued by the leading American colleges and universities shows about the same relative use of the two terms. The term "Old English" is used in a majority of instances as the title of a course covering the earliest period of the language, but a feeling of uncertainty on the part of those who have been responsible for the naming of the courses is evinced by such descriptions

¹ See pp. 114-131. For a bibliography of this discussion of the two names see also pp. 462-463.

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as: "Anglo-Saxon: Study of the Language and Literature of Old English"; "Old English: Essentials of Anglo-Saxon Grammar"; "Old English (Anglo-Saxon)."

I hope that I shall not seem unfaithful to the higher ideals of English philological scholarship in thus arguing for a frank recognition of "things as they are." It does seem, however, that for the average student of Early English, his study has been unnecessarily encumbered by much learned, or, to make use of one of Thomas Blount's long-neglected legacies, "doctiloquent," dissertation on the roots and relations of Germanic and Indo-European philology, when, as a matter of fact, all that he wants, all that he is capable of acquiring well in a limited time, and all that he is ever likely to show much interest in, is a practical knowledge of the language and the literature of early England.

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Frederick Klaeber was born at Beetzendorf, Prussia, October 1, 1863, the son of Hermann and Luise (Bley) Klaeber. He was educated at the universities of Leipzig, Halle, Kiel, and Berlin, taking his Doctor's degree at Berlin in 1892. In 1893 he came to the University of Minnesota as instructor in Old and Middle English; was made assistant professor of English philology in 1896, and professor of comparative and English philology in 1898, a position that he has since held. He is a member of the Modern Language Association of America, a Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America, a member of the Council of the Simplified Spelling Board, of the Concordance Society, the Kasseler Grimm-Gesellschaft, the International Phonetic Association, and a director of the Deutsche Gesellschaft of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Professor Klaeber was married in 1902 to Charlotte Wahn, of Koesen, Thuringia.

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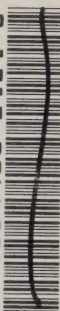
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